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TOWARD THE SANTIAGO SUMMIT:
A National Consultation

(Backround Paper, Discussion Paper
and Consultations)

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Toward the Santiago Summit: A National Consultation

HEMISPHERIC INTEGRATION, DEMOCRATIZATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE AMERICAS

BACKGROUND PAPER

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Introduction:

This paper is intended to provide background on two broad themes in preparation for the Santiago Summit: hemispheric economic integration and democracy / human rights. The objective is to delineate some of the trends of past decades, drawing particular attention to developments associated with the Miami Summit in December 1994.

The Summit of the Americas produced a *Declaration of Principles*, a *Plan of Action*, and a *Declaration on Human Rights*. Although the main agenda item was broadening trade and deepening regional integration, in official Summit documents that was only one of a number of important items. The final *Declaration of Principles* called for a "partnership for development and prosperity, democracy, free trade and sustainable development" for the Americas. The Declaration committed the signatories to several objectives:

- to preserve and strengthen the community of democracies,
- to promote prosperity through economic integration and free trade,
- to eradicate poverty and discrimination,
- to guarantee sustainable development and conserve our natural environment for future generations[1].

The *Plan of Action* contained 23 provisions designed to provide both mechanisms and in some cases target dates by which specific goals would be achieved. In the area of integration, the Plan called for participants to create, by 2005, a Free Trade Area of the Americas in a manner consistent with the GATT and WTO. Subsections of the integration initiative involved capital market development and liberalization, improvement of infrastructure, energy cooperation, development of the region's telecommunications and information infrastructure, cooperation in science and technology, and increased tourism.

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[1]Robin Rosenberg and Steve Stein, eds., *Advancing the Miami Process: Civil Society and the Summit of the Americas* (Miami: North-South Center Press, 1995).

In the other areas of immediate relevance to this paper - democracy and human rights - the *Plan of Action* contained extensive provisions. These included: strengthening democracy; promoting and protecting human rights; invigorating society/community participation; promoting cultural values; combating corruption; combating the problem of illegal drugs and related crimes; eliminating the threat of terrorism; and, building mutual confidence. Under the general category of eradicating poverty and discrimination, the *Plan* called for: universal access to education; equitable access to basic health services; strengthening the role of women in society; encouraging small business and micro-enterprises; the establishment of the White Helmets - a corps of volunteers for development work and disaster relief.

Clearly, both the *Declaration of Principles* and the *Plan of Action* took a very broad approach to economic development, human rights and democratization. The broad goals articulated in those concluding documents from the Miami Summit are consistent Canada's cultural values and with the goals of Canadian foreign policy. To what extent those goals will be attained in coming decades remains to be determined, however. Some of those goals have proven elusive over the better part of the past century, and although the signs of progress are encouraging, progress on such targets as the elimination of poverty has been glacial.

PART I

HEMISPHERIC INTEGRATION

The following section outlines recent developments in Western Hemisphere trade and in the regional integration efforts that form such an important part of the hemispheric economic and political agenda in the past decade. The intent here is not to be prescriptive but rather to trace the comparatively recent historical patterns and delineate the current situation. Since this paper as a whole addresses issues of democratization, human rights and economic integration, it should be

evident that the authors believe there is a relationship between economic development and the current integrationist agenda, on the one hand, and the capacity of Caribbean and Latin American states to move toward more democratic political regimes. It is widely accepted among both conservative and more liberal analysts of the neo-liberal transformation of Latin American economies that a radical reduction of the state's role in the political economy, increased emphasis and reliance on individual capacity and initiative, combined with the liberalization of trade and foreign investment, contribute to major problems of social and economic equity in society. Where liberals and conservatives differ is over the degree of responsibility the state holds to address those inequities. This paper does not deal with this critical issue, but it should be clear to readers that the authors believe hemispheric leaders possess a major moral and political responsibility to address equity issues while promoting economic liberalization and hemispheric integration. Problems of human rights and democratic participation can never be addressed effectively if a large segment of society remains in abject poverty, frequently outside mainstream economies, and effectively disenfranchised because of their lack of meaningful economic power within society.

Historical Background of Integration

The current thrust toward economic integration - specifically the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) - is not new, but it has a much higher degree of intensity and a more significant level of political support across the hemisphere, including the support of such major international organizations as the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), than was the case prior to 1981. The fact that the IDB has a Division of Integration, Trade and Hemispheric Issues underlines the importance it places on that agenda. Of particular significance as well has been the commitment of the executive branch of the United States government to the integrationist agenda since the early 1980s under the Reagan Administration, despite the current absence of U.S. Congressional authorization of the fast-track route to trade agreement approval which has stalled the U.S. agenda

and forced nations such as Canada, Chile and Mexico to pursue their own common trade agreements. The commitment of the United States to hemispheric integration embodied a dramatic turnabout in U.S. policy, since prior to the 1980s the United States had been either hostile or disinterested in integration, preferring a hub and spokes model of bilateralism with the United States as the hub. In the 1980s, that changed, and such actions as the Caribbean Basin Initiative of the Reagan Administration, the Enterprise for the Americas initiative of the Bush Administration (1990), the U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement (1989) and the North American Free Trade Agreement (1994) were concrete manifestations of the new U.S. orientation.

Within the Caribbean and Latin America the commitment to economic integration has had a longer historical tradition, although efforts have also been marred by lack of success in the past. The 1960s and 1970s witnessed a number of integrationist initiatives. The Central American countries came together in the Central American Common Market (CACM)[2]; Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela concluded the Andean Pact; a number of Caribbean countries initially formed the Caribbean Free Trade Association (CARIFTA) which has now been transformed into the Caribbean Community (CARICOM)[3]. The Southern Cone nations formed Mercosur - the Southern Common Market - although Chile remained aloof from the organization.[4] The Latin American Free Trade Association has also been transformed into the Latin American Integration Association (ALADI), a more accurate reflection of the organization's hemispheric agenda. More recently, Mexico, Colombia and Venezuela have come together as the G-3 for systematic common

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[2]Central American Common Market: Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua.

[3]CARICOM: Antigua and Barbuda, Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Dominica, Guyana, Grenada, Jamaica, Montserrat, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Suriname, Trinidad and Tobago.

[4]Mercosur: Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay.

initiatives. It has been evident that in the 1990s Latin American leaders have viewed the integrationist, cooperative direction as desirable. Between 1990 and mid-1997, nations of the region concluded 14 major agreements involving customs unions or free trade areas. At the same time as they have moved ahead with this multilateral agenda, Caribbean and Latin American countries have been unilaterally liberalizing their trade, investment and regulatory regimes in order to promote efficiency and enhance competitiveness.

Nonetheless, there is a general perception that since the Miami Summit in December 1994 the pace of hemispheric integration has not been as positive as had been hoped, either in terms of economic integration or in terms of the establishment of a political environment conducive to that integration. Subregional cooperation has tended to be more vigorous than the broader and more ambitious FTAA, which has a target date of 2005. The presidents of Central America have held regular, twice-yearly meetings to address common problems; the nations of Mercosur have both strengthened their trade group and brought Chile and Bolivia into the organization as associate members; and the United States, Canada and Mexico continue to implement the provisions of NAFTA. One of the current problems remains a lack of full confidence in the capacity of the OAS to play the role of an effective and efficient catalyst in the integrationist agenda. The weakness of the OAS is further exacerbated by the Caribbean and Latin American preference for the organization to remain impotent, to prevent it from being used as a more powerful tool of U.S. policies.[5]

United States policy in the past several years has also been an impediment to hemispheric integration. The failure of the Clinton Administration to obtain fast-track authority has stalled the incorporation of Chile into NAFTA and undermined the U.S. capability to initiate trade agreements with other regional governments. The U.S. has also failed to establish an interim trade

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[5]*The Americas in 1997: Making Cooperation Work.* A Report of the Sol M. Linowitz Forum, Washington: Inter-American Dialogue, 1996.

arrangement for the Caribbean and Central America - the NAFTA parity measure - to help protect these weaker economies from diversion of trade and investment to Mexico as a result of the NAFTA accord.

The United States was not entirely to blame for these problems. The collapse of the Mexico peso in 1994 triggered a broader economic crisis that necessitated U.S. organization of a $50 billion rescue package. The Mexican economic crisis, which had a drastic impact on the Mexican middle class as well as the poorer segments of society, combined with high levels of unemployment throughout the hemisphere, undermined the confidence of Latin American countries to pursue the neo-liberal agenda at such a rapid pace without risk of creating economic and political instability. In the late 1980s it was noted that the larger countries- including Argentina and Brazil - only belatedly demonstrated a "deeper" commitment to the establishment of any real economic interdependence between their economies.[6] Some governments continue to advocate a slower approach to liberalization and integration as a result of these and other concerns, among them Brazil, and with major nations such as Brazil taking such a stance, it is unlikely that smaller nations will adopt more aggressive positions.[7]

U.S. policy remains problematic. The hard line taken in the Helms-Burton legislation, designed to further isolate Cuba, was universally condemned in the hemisphere, including most vigorously by the U.S.'s two NAFTA partners. A second area of friction has been the U.S. anti narcotics policy, including the decertification of Colombia for a) its failure to pursue the issue with sufficient vigour, b) the alleged involvement of President Samper with the Cali cocaine cartel and c) violations of human rights.

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[6]Eduardo Gana and Augusto Bermudez, "Options for regional integration," *CEPAL Review*, no. 37 (April 1989).

[7]Inter-American Dialogue, *The Americas in 1997.*

The current situation is not entirely surprising since it reflects longer historical difficulties that have plagued hemispheric integration. The initiatives of the 1960s and 1970s produced very mixed results, and all integrationist efforts suffered a serious setback when the region was wrecked by the debt crisis in the 1980s , a period appropriately termed the "lost decade" in the region. The debt crisis however, also stimulated consideration of a neo-liberal agenda in the Caribbean and Latin America- indeed, it could be suggested that the debt crisis made that neo-liberal agenda economically essential and politically feasible. The result has been a radical reduction in the long-established role of the state in the region, including widespread privatization of formerly state-owned enterprises, even in areas as petrol, which had traditionally been considered of strategic national significance. Liberalization of trade and investment has considerably stimulated private sector activity by providing more assured market access within the region. In the case of Mexico and Canada the primary objective was to enhance and secure market access in the United States. The end of the Soviet Union, the electoral defeat of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua in 1990, a Central American peace accord, and the increased power of regional trading groups in Asia and Europe provided additional incentives for Caribbean and Latin American countries to strengthen their own regional ties.

The Integrationist Agenda

One of the strongest institutional forces working for integration over the past several decades has been the Inter-American Development Bank. The IDB was established in 1959 with that specific mandate and in 1994, when the bank's shareholders increased its capital by $40 billion, they reaffirmed that objective. Enrique Iglesias, President of the IDB, contends that this commitment to Caribbean and Latin American integration has several motivations. One is the historical legacy - at least in Iberian America - of a common political, cultural and economic heritage, although it is more difficult to fit the British, Dutch and French Caribbean into that historical pattern.

Important as that historical legacy may be, Iglesias acknowledges that regional integration is a "subset" of the larger global integrationist movement and development model that the IDB supports. From his perspective and that of neo-liberals generally, "the dynamics of markets induce the integration of markets, regions and people. The larger markets and competition brought on by this process enhance specialization, efficiency and growth with corresponding welfare gains."[8]

As Iglesias notes, part of the Bank's agenda is to ensure that political, economic and institutional barriers in Latin America do not impede the growing market economies. He might add that there are also impediments to such development created more by the major industrial economies than by Caribbean and Latin American nations. For instance, although there have been continued advances in integration, problems remain. The absence of fast-track approval in the United States has delayed Chilean entry into NAFTA. In the absence of initiative from the United States, Chile has pursued bilateral linkages with Canada; Chile and Mexico have undertaken talks with the Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation Forum (APEC); Chile and Mercosur have signed trade and economic cooperation agreements with the European Union. The deeper fear is that the continued strength of Congressional protectionism in the United States will erode the commitment to liberalization and integration of the past two decades. Peru left the Andean Group in 1992, and although agreement has been reached for its full re-integration into the Group, that will not be completed until 2005. In the interim it continues to hold special status. The small island economies of the Caribbean remain on the margin of the integration initiatives. They are confronted still with high costs of production and transportation as well as inadequate internal markets. A number of the Caribbean economies also are concerned that the trade preferences provided by the European Union in the Lomé IV agreement, which expires in 2000, will not be

[8]Iglesias, "The New Face of Regional Integration in Latin America and the Caribbean," Presentation at the Annual World Bank Conference on Development in Latin America and the Caribbean, Montevideo, June 29-July 1, 1997.

continued. The conclusion of NAFTA in 1994 was also a source of major concern for the poorer economies of the Caribbean, who feared they would be further disadvantaged by the higher level of integration among the United States, Canada and Mexico, and in particular would suffer reduced access to the U.S. market.

Recent Trade Patterns:

Recent patterns of trade are provided in more detail in tables in the Appendix. There are a few general observations about the data that might be noted, however.

- Although in some of the regions the role of manufactures and non-traditional agricultural exports have increased in importance, the Caribbean and Latin America remain highly dependent on exports of primary products.
- Manufacture exports are often intra-company and associated with the subsidiaries of foreign-owned companies.
- Except for Brazil, the region's trade remains highly dependent on linkages with the United States.

PART II

Transitions to Democracy in Latin America

Over the past 15 years, governance in Latin America has changed significantly. In the late 1970s, most governments south of the Rio Grande were either military governments or military-backed dictatorships. The British Caribbean, Mexico, Costa Rica, Belize, Venezuela and Colombia were the exceptions, manifesting various shades of political democracy. Today one finds the opposite. All governments in Central and South America are involved in some phase of the democratization process. Even Mexico with its political reforms is in a phase of democratic consolidation.

This transitional process is a complex one. While it involves a number of changes, these changes do not occur in a sequential fashion, more importantly, the outcome of the transitions may not be inevitable. Numerous problems arise as a result of change and create a great deal of pressure on a fledgling democracy. Peru is a case in point. Sendero Luminoso and economic stagnation resulted in the system regressing to a more authoritarian process.

The purpose of this section of the paper is to delineate the components of the transition to democracy, i.e. to indicate some of the more important changes involved in the transition, and to examine how these changes are linked. In fact, the linkage between the different components of the transition may be the factor that explains the consolidation of a successful democratic system of government.

Within the framework of the Miami Summit Plan of Action, Brazil and Canada agreed to assume the leading role in the implementation of both the democracy and the human rights initiatives. This role was especially appropriate for Canada since it had played a seminal part in the establishment of the Unit for the Promotion of Democracy (UPD) in the OAS. Brazil also launched its national human rights plan in May 1996 and has taken a leading role in the OAS on human rights matters. In addition to the Unit for the Promotion of Democracy, the OAS has committees on Representative Democracy and Administration of Justice to advance the human rights agenda.[9]

The transition to democracy itself involves four components: liberalization, democratization, the emergence of civil society and economic development. In other words, we are suggesting that these are the four cornerstones of an ideal liberal democratic system of government. Existing democracies may or may not manifest all four components. Over the past four decades, for example, Mexico and Colombia often were classified as democracies, yet both

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[9]Michael Shifter and Sean Neill, *Implementing the Summit of the Americas: Guaranteeing Democracy and Human Rights* (Miami: Working Paper Series, North-South Center, 1996).

systems lacked some of the characteristics that are part of the transition, and in both countries the impact of narcotics production and trafficking and the corruption they engender have severely complicated the evolution of democratic institutions. The autonomy required for groups in order to strengthen civil society has been lacking in both countries. Yet in the transitory process, both countries appear to be moving toward a system where there are greater demands for social, economic and political autonomy of groups.

The first two components of the transition are democratization and liberalization.[10] There is some debate, however, as to which of these changes comes first in a transitional process. Our intention is not to engage this controversy; obviously both components are critical to the development of any true democracy. In fact the two components involve changes that are very interdependent. Liberalization, or the limitation of state power, may create room for democratized groups and individuals in the political process. Or, greater democratization within groups and individuals may pressure elites to liberalize state power, and grant greater autonomy to groups and individuals. While both components are equally important to the transition, we will focus on liberalization first.

I. Liberalization

Liberalization involves limiting the power of the state and thus granting greater freedom of action to individuals and groups in society. It involves reducing repression and granting greater civil liberties.[11] Part of the basis for this particular change arises from an acceptance of "constitutionalism," i.e., a willingness to abide by the rules of the game enshrined in a constitution.

Frequently in Latin America, authoritarian systems were strongly opposed to any political

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[10] O'Donnell and Schmitter, *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule*.

[11] Mainwaring, et. al., *Issues in Democratic Consolidation*, p. 298).

dissent; in fact, political opposition was violently suppressed. By holding the actions of governments to constitutional "rules of the game", individuals and groups can debate and oppose government policy. Therefore, liberalization is one way of achieving human rights.

The realization of human rights is a growing phenomenon in many Latin American states. While para military killings still occur in countries such as El Salvador, Guatemala and Colombia, the frequency and openness of these actions have diminished and the state has sought in all instances to address the problem, through reforms of the military justice system in Colombia, as one example. No doubt there is a strong correlation between the realization of human rights and the position of the military in a society. Bringing the military under the control of civilian political leaders is critical to liberalization of a society.

II. Democratization

The democratization of a society encompasses two dimensions of change - institutional or structural changes, and cultural or attitudinal changes. Both types of change are integral to creating a regularized process of politics we call a democracy.

Institutional Changes

The first institutional change associated with democratization involves making political leaders responsible to the electorate. Free and fair elections create a system in which a plurality of elites compete for political power, i.e., the authority to make public decisions for society. These elites compete for the vote of the masses in society, and with a majority of that vote, their authority is legitimized. According to the theory of liberal democracy, these political elites, because they want to be returned to office, will govern in the interest of most voters.

This theory of democracy is simple, but one recognizes immediately the possibility of problems with its operation. For example, do elected political leaders always represent a majority of voters? How also does one guarantee representation of a minority? How "democratic" is a

process where more citizens choose to sit out the election rather than exercise their franchise? Moreover, creating a competitive election is only one factor in democratizing a society.

A second institutional change associated with democratization is greater mass participation in politics. This change has occurred in Latin America, particularly since the 1930s in the more industrialized countries, e.g., Argentina, Chile and Mexico and since the 1950s in most other countries, as women were enfranchised and urban and rural workers began organizing to achieve political ends in the political process. This change has resulted in the growth of political organizations such as interest groups and political parties, which are the logical extension of greater political activity among citizens of a polity. In Mexico, for instance, the challenge provided to the historical dominance of PRI (the Institutional Revolutionary Party) by the PAN (National Action Party) and the PRD (Party of the Democratic Revolution) in recent years is a sign of the emergence of political party pluralism in what was a one-party state for most of the 20th century. The PRI historically functioned in a very corporatist manner, subsuming and controlling interest groups that were potential competitors and thus thwarting the democratic process. The National Front agreement under which Colombia operated from the late 1950s through the 1970s was another example of a highly controlled democracy, in which conservatives and liberals alternated in power and excluded any other parties from the electoral process.

Greater public participation in political institutions and elections does not in itself guarantee a higher degree of democratization; nor does broader popular participation in politics bring greater stability. During the 1960s and 1970s, mass political activity was often challenged by the military. Democratic movements met with harsh responses from military and civilian elites. Governments in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Peru and Uruguay were experimenting with democratic changes. The response was for authoritarianism in each case. In fact, much of the literature suggests elite change and accommodation is far more powerful than mass political activity in inducing the transition to democracy. However, the fact that the masses become involved as part of democratization remains an important step in creating responsible government.

A third institutional change occurring as part of democratization is civilian control of the military. In the name of "order" and "development," military rulers have seized almost total control of society. Paradoxically, even though they controlled the reins of power, few military governments have realized true order or development. The fact is they usually have had no more success than civilian authoritarian regimes.

Curbing the power of the military is a lengthy process, and challenging that power requires strong civilian institutions. Nevertheless, it can be done, as in Mexico, and slowly, in Chile, Argentina and Brazil. Attempts at curbing the military's power may lead to coups, or attempted coups as was the case in Argentina even in the 1990s. Yet, it is difficult for governments spending vast resources on the military to enact spending for social programs of any kind. And, for that reason, checking the power of an autonomous military is crucial in consolidating a meaningful democracy.

Cultural Change - Elite Transformation

A second form of change associated with democratization is cultural change, i.e. changes in individual attitudes, beliefs and values. Studies of culture, cultural change and their impact have focused on changing attitudes and values among elites as well as the masses.

One argument is that changing attitudes among societal elites is key to the process of democratization. There is a debate over whether this change is spawned by an "accommodation" by elites, i.e., their adapting to pressures generated in society; or whether elites fragment, and accommodation in fact grows out of competition in the political process.[12] Regardless of the origin of the accommodation process, some kind of elite transformation is recognized as a critical part of the transition to democracy.

In Latin America, where elites traditionally have dominated the political process, the tragic

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12 Diamond, et. al., *Democracy in Developing Countries.*

results have been: "long records of political instability and authoritarian rule." Elite transformations thus appear to "constitute the main and possibly the only route to democratic consolidation."[13] Evidence from countries like Chile, Colombia and Uruguay indicate that the lack of elite transformation in Peru, Argentina and Brazil has indeed slowed the transformation to democracy.

III. Civil Society

One of the most fascinating parts of any transition to democracy is to watch the upsurge of popular activity once the reins of repression are relaxed. This process, usually termed mobilization or politicization is now subsumed under civil society revival or consolidation.

The idea of developing a civil society is seen to be another of the components of the transition to democracy. It refers to the coming together of individuals into autonomous civil groups of all kinds. Their presence "leads to mutual discoveries of common ideals, which acquire enormous political significance."[14] In other words, the activities of these groups facilitate individuals' having greater control of their own destiny.

Thus, civil society is an important component of democracy because it supports collective action in a society where individual and personal freedoms prevail.[15] In other words, civil society provides a balance between rugged individualism on the one hand, and the forced unity of collectivism on the other.

IV. Economic Development

For decades analysts have debated the relationship between economic development and

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[13] Higley and Gunther, *Elites and Democratic Development in Latin America*, p. xii.

[14] O'Donnell and Schmitter, *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule*, p. 49.

[15] Putnam, *Making Democracy Work*.

democratic rule. The correlation between the two is strongly supported by the fact that most Western democracies are also the more industrialized and economically developed nations in the world. While the correlation is powerful, anomalies exist. India, for example, is very poor economically but it is in the process of consolidating its democracy. In Latin America, however, the most dramatic swing from authoritarian rule to a more democratic process occurred in the 1980s. This period, of course, is known as the "lost decade" because economic stagnation prevailed. Therefore, to analyze the connection between economic development and the transition to democracy, one must first of all discern the meaning of economic development.

Economic development is most frequently associated with economic growth. Growth, that is, the expansion of the gross domestic product, is the critical measure of the size and strength of an economy. Today, for example, the economies of Mexico, Brazil, Argentina and Chile are expanding by between 4% to 7% annually. Colombia has for 20 years demonstrated a consistently strong growth, even during the 1980s. Venezuela's economy, although rich in oil reserves, is growing at about 2% to 3% annually. One can only wait to see if economic growth, or the lack of it, will be the significant factor in the democratic transition.

Growth alone, however, may not be the key variable. Brazil's economy grew exceedingly fast in the 1960s and 1970s. Yet, the beneficiaries of that dramatic growth were few. When this occurs, disparities of wealth grow and a great deal of discontent, even revolt, can develop within the masses. Even if widespread poverty does not lead to significant political actions, the disparities in wealth in Latin America are a major impediment to the creation of truly democratic and civil societies, and those disparities have been exacerbated by the neo-liberal push for stripping the state of many of its previous functions. In Mexico, for example, since the dramatic movement toward economic and trade liberalization under President Salinas in the 1980s, the number of billionaires has increased ten-fold, while the peso devaluation of 1994 virtually destroyed the middle classes and further distanced the impoverished from the mainstream of society. Although the factors that gave rise to the Zapatista uprising in southern Mexico are complex, there is little doubt that the neo-

liberal agenda and NAFTA contributed to that yet unresolved crisis.

There is also a clear link between poverty and education. The overwhelming historical tendency in the region has been for the poor to have access to lower quality, public, primary and secondary education, with the middle and upper classes sending their children to private schools. Education thus was a critical component of the Miami Summit of the Americas, and the heads of state and government pledged to guarantee universal access to quality primary education, including a 100% primary completion rate, by 2010, a secondary enrollment rate of at least 75%, and the establishment of programs to reduce truancy, improve nutritional levels of school children, and eradicate literacy. Participants also pledged to strengthen the quality of higher education, improve teacher training and cooperate to enhance scientific knowledge.[16]

The broader definition of economic development implies the integration of all sectors of society,i.e. Ensure that, as an economy expands, most sectors of society derive the benefits of that growth.

Another facet of the relationship between economic development and democracy involves ideology. In the past, socialists often argued that state ownership and control of the economy would stimulate economic expansion. The demise of communism in the Soviet Union and many Eastern European states challenged this theory. Today, the prevailing ideas behind "restructuring" the relationship between the state and the economy assume that greater freedom for "market forces" will result in economic expansion.[17]

One powerful component of the economic development literature strongly links economic "performance" in society with the consolidation of democracy. Larry Diamond states for instance that "A primary factor...is the performance of the regime over time in delivering what people want

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[16]Jeffrey M. Puryear, *Implementing the Summit of the Americas: Reforming Educational Systems* (Miami: North-South Center, 1996).

[17] Przeworski, *Democracy and the Market.*

and expect from government. This idea suggests that underlying support of a government is linked to economic factors, and that this underlying support is one reason for political stability. It enable us to integrate the four components of the transition to democracy.

Conclusion: Political Legitimacy and Transitions to Democracy

The concept of political legitimacy offers a way of pulling together the interdependent components of the transitional process. Democratic legitimacy can be defined as: "the belief that for that particular country at that particular historical juncture, no other type of regime could assure a more successful pursuit of collective goals."[18] It seems to us that the realization of the four components of the transition to democracy might just engender such sense of legitimacy, helping overcome the sense of alienation, even hostility, which have been at the root of political instability in Latin America.

[18] Mainwaring, et al., *Issues in Democratic Consolidation*, p. 308).

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TABLE I

CANADIAN EXPORTS TO LATIN AMERICA

1993 (MILLIONS OF $ US)

DESTINATION	VALUE	% SHARE
TOTAL WESTERN HEMISPHERE	2413.0	1.4
ARGENTINA	113	0.6
BOLIVIA	7.0	0.6
BRAZIL	655	2.6
CHILE	203	1.8
COLOMBIA	207	2.1
ECUADOR	46	1.4
MEXICO	599	1.0
PARAGUAY	4	0.2
PERU	60	1.5
URUGUAY	40	1.7
VENEZUELA	394	3.5

Source: International Monetary Fund, *Trade Statistics Yearbook 1993, 1994*

TABLE 2

CANADIAN IMPORTS FROM LATIN AMERICA

1993 (MILLIONS OF $ US)

DESTINATION	VALUE	PERCENTAGE SHARE
TOTAL WESTERN HEMISPHERE	4340	2.7
ARGENTINA	90	0.7
BOLIVIA	2	0.2
BRAZIL	455	1.2
CHILE	61	0.6
COLOMBIA	60	0.8
ECUADOR	100	2.9
MEXICO	2665	5.6
PARAGUAY	NA	NA
PERU	88	2.5
URUGUAY	11	0.7
VENEZUELA	272	1.6

Source: International Monetary Fund, *Trade Statistics Yearbook 1993, 1994*

TABLE 3

TEN MAJOR CANADIAN IMPORTS FROM LATIN AMERICAN INTEGRATION AREA

1993 (MILLIONS $ CDN)

PRODUCT	VALUE	SHARE IN IMPORTS OF PRODUCT FROM LAIA
VEHICLES- VOL .> 2.4 CC	460	47.6%
VEHICLES - VOL.> 2.8CC	249	13.2%
CRUDE PETROLEUM-DENSITY > 0.9042	213	91.5%
CRUDE PETROLEUM-DENSITY > 0.8498, < 0.9042	204	8.6%
SPARK-IGNITION ENGINES	202	6.6%
MOTOR VEHICLE SEATS	199	75.1%
IGNITION WIRING SETS	147	17.9%
DIGITAL PROCESS UNITS	144	8.2%
STAMPINGS, FOR TRACTORS, TRANSPORTATION VEHICLES	144	8.5%
BODY PARTS AND ACCESSORIES FOR TRACTORS, TRANSPORTATION VEHICLES	131	4.6%
TOTAL (FOR 10 MAJOR IMPORTS)	2,094	

Source: Statistics Canada

TABLE 4

TEN LEADING CANADIAN EXPORTS TO LATIN AMERICA
1993 (MILLIONS $ cdn)

PRODUCT	VALUE	SHARE IN TOTAL EXPORTS OF PRODUCT
WHEAT AND MESLIN	489	20.1%
NEWSPRINT	261	4.3%
ELECTRICAL PARTS FOR TELEPHONE OR TELEGRAPHY	91	7.1%
BITUMINOUS COAL	79	4.3%
PARTS AND ACCESSORIES OF BODIES FOR MOTOR VEHICLES	67	6.4%
POTASSIUM CHLORIDE	64	5.4%
OTHER PARTS AND ACCESSORIES FOR MOTOR VEHICLES	38	1.3%
DURUM WHEAT	55	12.3%
CHEMICAL WOOD PULP	47	1.6%
DIESEL OIL	41	8.9%
TOTAL FOR 10 PRODUCTS	1,252	

SOURCE: Statistics Canada

TABLE 5

WESTERN HEMISPHERE: TOTAL AND INTRAREGIONAL EXPORTS
1990-1995
(MILLIONS $ us)

REGION	1990	1995
WESTERN HEMISPHERE-TOTAL	658,234	996,045
EXTRA-HEMISPHERE EXPORTS	341,515	472,187
INTRA-HEMISPHERE EXPORTS	316,719	523,858
LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN-TOTAL	137,781	218,989
EXTRA-LAC EXPORTS	121,412	177,194
INTRA-LAC EXPORTS	16,369	41,795
ANDEAN COMMUNITY-TOTAL	31,605	38,843
EXTRA-ANDEAN EXPORTS	30,310	34,268
INTRA-ANDEAN EXPORTS	1,295	4,575
CARICOM- TOTAL	4,762	6,211
EXTRA-CARICOM EXPORTS	4,224	5,407
INTRA-CARICOM EXPORTS	555	815
CACM- TOTAL	4.058	6,864
EXTRA-CACM EXPORTS	3,402	5,408
INTRA-CACM EXPORTS	656	1,456
MERCOSUR- TOTAL	46,425	70,401
EXTRA-MERCOSUR EXPORTS	42,302	56,081

INTRA-MERCOSUR EXPORTS	4,123	14,384
GROUP OF THREE-TOTAL	65,162	107,625
EXTRA-G-3 EXPORTS	64,127	104,319
INTRA-G-3 EXPORTS	1,035	3,306
NAFTA - TOTAL	561,164	856,598
EXTRA-NAFTA EXPORTS	320,667	461,078
INTRA-NAFTA EXPORTS	240,497	395,520

SOURCE: IDB, *Integration and Trade in the Americas, periodic note* (July 1997).

TABLE 6

WESTERN HEMISPHERE TOTAL AND INTRAREGIONAL IMPORTS
1990-1995
(MILLIONS $ US)

REGION	1990	1995
WESTERN HEMISPHERE-TOTAL	747,493	1,161,200
EXTRA-HEMISPHERE	431,751	642,112
INTRA-HEMISPHERE	315,743	519,088
LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN- TOTAL	110,235	226,317
EXTRA-REGION	93,221	183,965
INTRA-REGION	17,014	42,352
ANDEAN COMMUNITY-TOTAL	17,425	38,300
EXTRA- ANDEAN	16,243	33,423
INTRA-ANDEAN	1,182	4,877
CACM- TOTAL	6,535	12,087
EXTRA- CACM	5,895	10,580
INTRA-CACM	640	1,507
MERCOSUR-TOTAL	27,326	75,311
EXTRA-MERCOSUR	23,204	61,218
INTRA-MERCOSUR	4,122	14,094
G-3- TOTAL	54,168	97,549
EXTRA- G-3	53,450	94,379
INTRA-G-3	719	3,170
NAFTA- TOTAL	678,850	1,007,336
EXTRA-NAFTA	443,190	627,931
INTRA-NAFTA	235,660	379,405

TABLE 7

CANADA:MERCHANDISE TRADE WITH MEXICO
(BILLIONS $ CDN)

	1990	1996
EXPORTS	0.7	1.2
IMPORTS	1.8	6.0

SOURCE: UNITED NATIONS, ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR LATIN AMERICA, *Nafta Implementation in Canada: The First Three Years* (Washington, April 1997).

TABLE 8

ANDEAN COMMUNITY-TRADE PATTERNS
(IN PERCENT)

	1990		1995	
REGION	EXPORTS	IMPORTS	EXPORTS	IMPORTS
ANDEAN COMMUNITY	4.2	6.8	12.0	12.7
EUROPEAN UNION	19.1	23.6	17.6	18.0
USA-CANADA	51.6	39.9	41.9	37.3
REST OF LATIN AMERICA-CARIBBEAN	14.7	15.9	17.7	15.5
JAPAN-NICS	4.8	7.9	5.6	10.7
REST OF WORLD	5.6	6.0	5.2	5.7

Note: NICS= Hong Kong, Korea, Taiwan, Singapore

SOURCE: IDB, *Integration and Trade in the Americas*. Periodic Note, July 1997.

TABLE 9

CENTRAL AMERICAN COMMON MARKET- TRADE PATTERNS
(IN PERCENT)

	1990		1995	
REGION	EXPORTS	IMPORTS	EXPORTS	IMPORTS
CACM	16.2	9.8	21.2	12.6
European Union	25.0	13.6	25.9	11.8
USA-Canada	41.7	41.1	36.7	46.1
Rest of Latin America-Caribbean	9.2	19.4	8.5	17.5
Japan-NICs	3.3	9.8	3.7	6.5
Rest of world	4.6	6.4	3.9	5.5

Source: IDB, *Integration and trade in the Americas.*

TABLE 10

MERCOSUR: PATTERNS OF TRADE
(IN PERCENT)

	1990		1995	
REGION	EXPORTS	IMPORTS	EXPORTS	IMPORTS
MERCOSUR	8.9	15.1	20.4	18.7
EUROPEAN UNION	32.5	23.1	26.6	28.2
USA-CANADA	21.7	21.9	15.9	22.4
REST OF LATIN AMERICA-CARIBBEAN	9.3	8.5	11.4	7.0
JAPAN-NICS	9.6	8.2	8.6	11.0
REST OF WORLD	17.9	23.3	17.1	12.7

SOURCE: IDB, *Integration and Trade in The Americas*

TABLE 11

NAFTA: PATTERNS OF TRADE
(IN PERCENT)

	1990		1995	
REGION	EXPORTS	IMPORTS	EXPORTS	IMPORTS
NAFTA	42.4	34.9	46.3	38.3
EUROPEAN UNION	21.1	18.1	16.1	15.8
REST OF LATIN AMERICA-CARIBBEAN	5.2	5.9	6.7	4.8
JAPAN-NICS	18.2	25.3	18.0	23.2
REST OF WORLD	13.1	15.8	12.9	17.9

Note: Data include Mexico's maquiladora trade.

SOURCE: IDB, *Integration and Trade in the Americas.*

TABLE 12

LATIN AMERICA: PATTERNS OF TRADE
(IN PERCENT)

	1990		1995	
REGION	EXPORTS	IMPORTS	EXPORTS	IMPORTS
LATIN AMERICA-CARIBBEAN	11.9	15.4	19.1	18.7
USA-CANADA	48.5	51.3	51.5	46.4
EUROPEAN UNION	22.1	17.1	15.9	18.3
JAPAN-NICS	7.6	6.3	5.4	9.1
REST OF WORLD	9.9	9.9	8.1	7.5

Note: Data include Mexico's maquiladora trade

SOURCE: IDB, *Integration and Trade in the Americas.*

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Toward the Santiago Summit:

A National Consultation

Discussion Paper

by John Hay

August 1997

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Introduction

There is promise and tension in the affairs of the Americas these days—a sense of rich and dangerous opportunity. In the Caribbean and throughout Central and South America there is the opportunity to develop democracies where dictators once ruled, and where they might again. There is the prospect for wealth-generating trade and investment in a hemisphere of immeasurable resources and human energies, where millions struggle in poverty. And there is the chance that Canadians might create with others in the Americas a true community of security, prosperity and freedom.

To seize these opportunities, to see the dangers, will compel the attention of Canadians and their government. Now more than ever we are a country and people of the Americas—even if our interests and obligations are not always clear. In many ways, our future will be decided here, in the political and private decisions of Canadians and others in the hemisphere. Canada has the opportunity to assist in shaping the destiny of the region, so that it coincides with its values and furthers its interests.

The Miami Summit of the Americas established a framework for collective action in the region aimed at achieving prosperity, democracy, equity and sustainable development. The Santiago Summit will discuss how this very broad framework can lead to concrete, focussed, achievable actions.

Agenda and Context

Reflecting the agenda of the Summit itself, this discussion paper looks to the four themes that will be taken up by the presidents and prime ministers for the purpose of formulating specific actions:

- Eradication of Poverty,
- Education,
- Preserving and Strengthening Democracy and Human Rights, and
- Regional Economic Integration and Free Trade.

These are all, of course, intricately related. Real relief from poverty demands improved (and universally accessible) education and job-training; regional free trade will betray democratic values if it fails to benefit the poor and dispossessed. New and fragile democracies are not likely to withstand for long the injustices and discontents of chronic poverty and gross abuses of human rights.

If there is a single unifying theme to the many questions raised here, it is this: Actions developed at the Summit must address the impact of the two dynamics transforming life throughout the region.

The first of those dynamics is the regional economic integration and "marketization" under way to some extent in very nearly every country in the hemisphere. The second of those dynamics is the building of democratic institutions and practices now being attempted (with varying intensity and success) in almost all countries of the region.

The two dynamics—economic liberalization and democratization—are complex enough in themselves; interacting, they require an integrated policy response. Experience has already shown that these two dynamics are not necessarily reinforcing. Economic liberalization may exacerbate poverty and marginalization, rather than lead to a more equitable distribution of wealth. Democracy is not the only regime in which economic growth may take place. An integrated approach, for example, should address the following issues: how can economic liberalization and integration be shaped in order to lead to a more equal distribution of income? How can social policies aimed at improving the quality of life of individuals be implemented under economic liberalization policies? How can we ensure that democracy and human rights are strengthened by market oriented policies? How can deregulation and privatization be made more compatible with widening popular participation in the political process?

Problems of Policy

1. Democracy and Human Rights

Nowhere do the risks and opportunities of change in the Americas emerge more dramatically than in the realm of democratization. In a scant 15 years, and especially in this decade, most of the former dictatorships have been replaced by governments and legislatures more or less legitimately elected. Among the Latin American republics, all but Cuba have passed a threshold test of democracy—two straight elections without a coup. In the Caribbean, Haiti's elected president was restored to office by international intervention. Yet it is too soon to say the juntas are history; in much of the Americas democracy is still fearfully precarious.

The signs of that weakness are manifold:

- in the corruption that undermines public confidence and government legitimacy in countries like Argentina;
- in the continuing disenfranchisement of the poor and the vulnerable, including indigenous peoples, as in Brazil;
- in the incompetence and abuses of police forces and judiciaries, like some in Central America;
- in rising street crime, and the thriving traffic in narcotics, as in Colombia;
- in the pernicious phenomenon of impunity—the incapacity or unwillingness of states to punish the torturers and killers of the old regimes.

Added to all this is the political damage done by economic failures: worsening unemployment, deepening poverty, environmental destruction, widening disparities between poor and rich. For all of its recent advances, Latin America shows the worst inequalities of wealth and income in the world—an unmistakable threat to any democratic future.

How can Canadians, with others, act to promote democratic development and protect the exercise of human rights?

In preparation for the Santiago summit, the 34 participating governments are reviewing a menu of possible programs and activities, compiled largely by Brazilian and Canadian officials co-ordinating follow-up on commitments made at the 1994 Summit of the Americas in Miami. That list includes actions to:

- improve police training, the treatment of pre-trial detainees, and human rights education for judges;
- promote widespread education in democracy and human rights;
- enhance activity in civil society, including non-governmental organizations;
- strengthen municipal and regional government administration;
- protect human rights of migrant workers and their families;
- reinforce hemispheric co-operation against corruption, narco-trafficking and terrorism
- promote confidence- and security-building measures between states.

As well, Brazilian and Canadian officials have recommended that governments concentrate on protecting particular categories of people: women, indigenous peoples, people with disabilities, migrant workers and foreign communities, children and disadvantaged groups.

As a generality it can be said that Canadian policy has been directed to many of these objectives. At CIDA, much aid effort has been invested in democracy and human rights projects, with the recurring themes of helping, especially, women, indigenous peoples and the poor. In the Organization of American States (OAS) and its related institutions, reinforcement of democratization and the advancement of human rights have figured prominently in Canadian participation; Canada has been a particularly eager proponent of the OAS Unit for the Promotion of Democracy (UPD), established in 1990 as Canada assumed its OAS membership.

But how coherent have Canadian programs been in this area? How successful and how consistent are they with overall foreign policy interests?

To take the last question first, the government's 1995 foreign policy statement specified three "key objectives": prosperity, security, and the projection of Canadian values and culture. Rhetorically at least, it is easy to argue the consistency of these interests with encouraging democracy and human rights in the Americas: a prosperous, peaceful, democratic Western Hemisphere, where others share Canadian values, would evidently suit Canadian interests.

It soon becomes apparent, however, that Canadians may have some choices to make, some policy trade-offs to consider. Genuine political change is by definition disruptive, often unpredictable. For instance, are we willing to jeopardize a Canadian business investment in Chile in the course of enfranchising aboriginal communities in the political process? What kind of new regional free trade agreement would minimize economic upheaval and social instability? To combat impunity, should Canadian aid be made conditional on the prosecution of state-sponsored crimes from an earlier regime? Or must we accept that in some countries (Guatemala?) impunity is a price to be paid for post-war reconciliation? How should Canadians decide these questions?

Other questions present themselves. For reasons mostly bound up in the constitutional division of powers, Canada has not ratified the 1969 American Convention on Human Rights, which created the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights and the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. (The United States is not a party to the convention either.) Does this undermine Canada's authority in taking up human rights issues in the Americas? As for the Unit for the Promotion of Democracy, its activities have expanded significantly; for example, it has been involved in de-mining operations in Central America. Should OAS countries continue extending UPD roles in democracy advocacy, education and "early-warning"? Or should the UPD preserve a neutrality and specialization that might be more acceptable to governments wary of outside intervention? Another question to consider is: Has CIDA stretched its sparse annual aid budget to too many countries in the Americas? In promoting democracy and human rights, might CIDA

have more effect concentrating again on the poorest of the poor, the weakest of the weak?

A word here about the special circumstances of indigenous peoples of the Americas: conditions differ greatly. In Guatemala and Bolivia, indigenous peoples in fact form majorities (even if they have been historically disadvantaged); in Argentina and Chile, as in Canada, they are minorities usually marginalized geographically, economically and politically. Just as Canadians are coming to terms with historic and enduring injustices suffered by Canada's First Nations, so we are obliged to recognize the particular claims of aboriginal peoples in the Caribbean and Latin America. Those claims bear on the design of education and other aid projects, on codes of conduct for business, on environment and trade policy, on democratic development.

Then there is Cuba. In common with practically all but the United States, Canada maintains normal diplomatic relations with Cuba and vigorously protests U.S. attempts to enforce its own Cuba embargo in other countries of the hemisphere. Canada also operates a modest aid program in Cuba; Canadians train Cuban economists, for example, in market economics. One of the explanations given by Canadian governments for diplomatic, aid and trade relations with Cuba is that these relationships can encourage political change inside Cuba. Is there evidence to support this explanation? Has aid encouraged change in the Cuban political system, or is it captured and misspent by the Cuban government/party apparatus?

Already the complicated connections between economic change and democratization are evident in the discussion—not least because each of these dynamics raises issues of nationalism, the legitimacy of states and long-standing sensitivities about foreign interference. We turn now to questions about the powerful forces of regional economic integration.

2. Economic Integration and Free Trade

"Free trade and increased economic integration are key factors for raising standards of living, improving the working conditions of people in the Americas and better protecting the environment." So said the Statement of Principles issued by the leaders at the 1994 Miami summit. "We, therefore, resolve to begin immediately to construct the 'Free Trade Area of the Americas' (FTAA). . . ," with negotiations to conclude "no later than 2005." The commitment to negotiate an FTAA did indeed catch the spirit of the times, or at least the conventional wisdom. Almost without exception, governments in the Americas have adopted the logic and vocabulary (if not always the practices) of free markets and free trade. And in Santiago next March, the leaders of those same governments will be asked to give formal authority to start FTAA negotiations.

But the proposed FTAA is not the only free trade project in the Americas, nor the most advanced. From Canada's standpoint, two other free trade undertakings are particularly significant.

One is Mercosur, the subregional common market formed in 1991 by Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay. It is a remarkable accomplishment in an area where governments traditionally have fiercely guarded their borders and prerogatives; it forms the world's fourth-largest integrated market (after NAFTA, the European Union and Japan) and thought not yet a true common market, Mercosur is evolving according to an agreed timetable. Its emergence has already had real effect, as demonstrated by the following case. Instead of shipping product from Canada, McCain Foods of Canada opened a frozen-potato plant in Argentina to supply McDonald's in Brazil. As well, Chile has acquired a kind of associate status for itself with Mercosur.

The second free trade arrangement of interest to Canada is NAFTA. Back in 1994 it was possible for the leaders of Canada, the United States and Mexico to speak hopefully of extending NAFTA membership south: in Miami, Jean Chrétien embraced the president of Chile as the fourth *amigo*. Since then progress has been fitful. Confusion and

division in Washington have so far prevented the Clinton Administration from opening NAFTA negotiations with Chile. As one result, Canada and Chile last November signed their own free trade agreement—with NAFTA-like side agreements on environment and labour. The bilateral agreement was described by both governments as Chile's "bridge" to NAFTA. Until and unless President Clinton wins congressional negotiating authority, however, the bridge cannot be completed.

Do NAFTA expansion and Mercosur's development compete at cross-purposes with creating an FTAA? Or (as in the analysis of Enrique Iglesias, president of the Inter-American Development Bank) are these subregional blocs actually building blocks for an eventual FTAA? For the time being, Canadian policy has aimed at all three: FTAA negotiations, NAFTA expansion, and deeper trade and investment relations with Mercosur. Is this the right policy?

The answer may in part be decided by others. Without a strong and reliable domestic consensus in Washington, NAFTA cannot be enlarged; nor will U.S. participation in an FTAA be certain. As for Mercosur, its four member governments seem content to proceed at their own pace—perhaps believing that U.S. self-interest will ultimately bring Washington to negotiate with a South American community of increasing strength and confidence.

Nor is it wholly obvious where Canadian interests are best served in hemispheric integration. Despite the very fast growth of trade in Latin America (and the vast potential so often cited), Canada's exports to the region are a tiny fraction of this country's total exports. More fundamentally, Canadians might ask two important questions about free trade, social justice and democracy in the Americas:

*First, what is the relationship between freer trade and social inequalities in Latin American and Caribbean economies? Politicians recite the catechism that "free trade is not enough"; that the losers in the upheavals of trade liberalization must be compensated by the winners,

presumably by government transfers. But how? In countries where state capacity to tax, decide and spend are inadequate or mistrusted, who protects those most vulnerable to economic dislocation or exploitation? What responsibilities do Canadians carry for the interests of those most likely to suffer free trade's effects

*Second, is there a collision between the two objectives of regional integration and democratization? If real decision-making power is removed from a (newly) democratic state and placed in some multilateral trading regime, does that undercut democracy's legitimacy—or utility—in the eyes of a skeptical public? Or, do the economic gains from freer trade, combined with the corruption-inhibiting disciplines of sound deregulation, actually strengthen a democratic state, increase its tax revenues, and improve its capability to rescue the poor and the marginalized?

Such questions are familiar to Canadians. We object to having our trade policy (or even our cultural policy, or social policy) decided in Washington or somewhere else that is unaccountable to the Canadian electorate. In that sense, Canadians are well placed to understand Caribbean and Latin American concerns. How can these shared concerns best be resolved?

Key Questions of Process

It is one thing for Canadians to decide—and even agree with others—on objectives for the Americas. It is another thing to create the means to achieve those objectives. As a country of modest power, Canada has traditionally chosen strategies of multilateralism to influence change internationally. What are the current prospects in the Americas?

I

For the promotion of democracy and human rights, there is no lack of multilateral institutions in place. There is the OAS itself, and the mandate member governments have given it to examine and act on threats to democracy in member states. There is the Inter-American Human Rights Commission, the Inter-American Court, the Unit for the Promotion of Democracy. It is fair to say, however, that the OAS and its various institutions have not satisfied every hope for effectiveness.

Failures can be attributed partly to reflexive anti-interventionism among Latin American and Caribbean states, which is understandable, given the history of interventions by the U.S. government. On the other hand, taking a supposedly principled stand against foreign intervention can merely be a governing clique's excuse for prolonging its own profitable misrule. In any event, how can affirmations of democracy and human rights be supported? What organizational reforms are necessary and possible? What additional money and political energy are Canadians prepared to invest in OAS institutions?

II

In the dynamics of regional economic integration, much less has been attempted by way of institution-building. NAFTA exists almost entirely in the bureaucracies (and courts) of its member states, as does Mercosur. The FTAA thus far does not exist at all except in some data-collecting, preparatory committees. If FTAA negotiations proceed at the Santiago summit, should members set up a supporting secretariat in the OAS? With what authority and resources? How should FTAA negotiations be made transparent, and how should negotiators be held accountable to the people of the hemisphere who will be affected?

III

Finally, the process of summitry itself. The 1994 Miami summit was very much a U.S.-designed event—the U.S. government at the political centre of it and others arranged as spokes to a hub. The 1998 Santiago summit is organized somewhat differently,

more genuinely multilaterally. But the question remains: Do these summits serve hemispheric co-operation by concentrating minds and securing political commitment? Or do summits weaken hemispheric institution-building by distracting governments from the work of strengthening the OAS system? Is this just the diplomacy of empty pomp and communiqué? Maybe the Santiago summit could be judged by two straightforward tests: 1) Does it come to specific, binding, and transparently measurable undertakings? 2) Does it place real authority, with corresponding resources, in institutions where member states have something like equal standing? It the answer to these questions is not an unqualified yes, how could Canada contribute in such a way that specific actions and measures be developed?

Conclusion

No paper of this sort can canvass all the questions, much less all the answers. There remains one key question as yet unasked, the subtext to any discussion of hemispheric relations: How do the rest of us in the Americas cope with the United States? Almost every imaginable issue of life in the Western Hemisphere—security, culture, economic growth, democratic development, drug trafficking, political-corporate corruption, environmental protection, migrant labour—engage relations with the U.S. government, U.S. citizens, diverse and conflicting U.S. interests. The United States is the superpower, the reality that shapes, in part, the community of interests that Canadians share with the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean. If there were no other common cause connecting Canada with others in the hemisphere, there would still be this: We are all close to the United States—to its power, its noisy confusions and sometimes its indifference. That is reason enough for Canadians to attend to the dangers and opportunities in the future of the Americas.

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Toward the Santiago Summit of the Americas:

Policy options resulting from regional civil society consultations

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Final Word
Annexes 1-3

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Introduction

This paper presents the results of five regional civil society consultations on what Canada's position should be with respect to the upcoming Santiago Summit of the Americas. The consultations took place in Edmonton, Vancouver, Fredericton, Toronto and Montréal between October 17th and 31st 1997, in which some 140 individuals from civil society participated. Each consultation resulted in a report on recommendations raised by the respective participants which appear below. The consultations covered all four baskets of the Summit agenda: Basket I. Education; Basket II. Preserving and strengthening democracy and human rights; Basket III. Economic integration and free trade; and Basket IV. Eradication of poverty and discrimination. There was, however, an emphasis on Baskets II and III in the background and discussion papers, in the structure of the consultations and in the allocation of time for discussion.

We begin by presenting key issues and the recommendations that gathered the most support. Each basket is then introduced, with a brief presentation of the main themes. A list of policy options divided by baskets follows. We chose not to include the context of the discussions which can be found in each consultation report. Recommendations which were addressed to sectors other than government are included under Annex 1. Additional recommendations which were not strongly pursued by participants (i.e., there was little or no debate of the proposal), or did not fit in either of the baskets, are listed separately under Annex 2. A calendar of the consultations, the partner organisations and the list of participants are included under Annex 3.

Please note that this report and all five consultation reports are posted on the FOCAL website, as well as the Summit agenda, a description of the consultation process, and other relevant information. The site's address is:
http://www.focal.ca/santiago

Key issues and areas of convergence

In taking a step back and looking at the five consultations from an overall national perspective, one can make the following remarks.

A. Labour and social protection in trade agreements

Of all the baskets of the Santiago Summit, *Basket III. Economic Integration and Free Trade* by far led to the most debate, discussion and recommendations. For many participants, the issues of poverty alleviation, human rights and democratic development correspond more to their professional objectives and priorities for the

hemisphere. However, the issue of economic integration is the one that attracts the most attention. Canadians (those consulted) are concerned, and in some cases deeply concerned, with the possible impact of a new trade agreement. They are worried about the potential disruption in the lives of Canadians and of other citizens of the Americas. They want future trade agreements to include strong measures to enforce and strengthen workers' rights, to guarantee social and economic rights, especially for vulnerable groups in society, and to protect the environment. They want the FTAA to be negotiated and concluded through a process which respects Canadian democratic values. While a minority of participants reject economic integration as a whole, most participants see it as inevitable and strongly believe in the need for a containment of the FTAA within the bounds prescribed by the needs of labour and disadvantaged groups and by environmental concerns. Some participants envision the economic future of the hemisphere as one based on fair trade, partnerships and sustainable development.

The following recommendation represents a main area of convergence:

The following core labour standards of the International Labour Organization (ILO) must be enshrined in trade agreements: freedom of association, freedom to form unions, right to collective bargaining, the prohibition of child labour and forced labour, equal remuneration for equal work and the banning of employment discrimination on the basis of sex, race or religion.

B. Opposing views on multilateralism

Two opposing tendencies are reflected in the policy options. Many participants express the need for strong labour and social protection in trade agreements. They argue that legislation with "teeth" is needed, as opposed to parallel agreements, to have compliance mechanisms and strong modalities for economic and political sanctions in place. Some call for very tough deals which impose standards to nation states at all levels. For example, a nation would need to achieve a certain literacy rate or a certain distribution of wealth in order to remain in the trade block.

However, some participants express serious concerns about Canadian sovereignty and believe that nations should remain able to pursue their environmental and social programs without being constrained by free trade agreements. They argue that nations should have the freedom to derogate from trade agreements if needed. They also raise a concern that hemispheric agreements will allocate too much power to appointed civil servants as opposed to elected officials.

C. Consultation of civil society in Canada

Participants are critical of the process used for these consultations. They feel that the timetable was too tight, that documents were available too late, that the debate must be much deeper and wider. Some participants worry that the consultations could be used to legitimize government policy.

The following recommendations represent a main area of convergence:

Civil society participation in decision-making must be strengthened. The government of Canada must hold open, ongoing, meaningful and legitimate consultations coupled with the provision of resources to promote the participation of civil society. Civil society organizations should be represented, and not just individuals. Relevant issues should be integrated rather than compartmentalized (e.g. focus consultations on trade policy rather than on trade aspects of APEC, FTAA, WTO, etc.). Consultations must give more time and space to civil society and permit internal debate and discussion within organizations. Consultations should be interactive processes of exchange with elected and government officials, rather than a one-way flow of recommendations which do not get a response. They must not become a limited process which legitimizes government positions or simply a closed debate between experts.

In order to make the official Canadian delegation to the Santiago Summit more balanced and representative, delegates from NGOs, the labour sector and other civil society representatives should be appointed, as well as provincial governments officials, as full-fledged members.

D. Views from women's organizations and First Nations

Representatives from women's organizations participated in the Vancouver (National Action Committee on the Status of Women), Toronto (National Action Committee on the Status of Women) and Montréal (Fédération des femmes du Québec) consultations. These organizations are very critical of neoliberalism and argue that women, in particular, pay the price of growing social and economic inequities. Economic globalization has meant worsening working conditions for women, cuts in public health and education, and increasing power enjoyed by multinational corporations. Measures must be taken to protect the rights of workers in free trade agreements, and to prevent the exploitation of women's work now taking place. Human development indicators must be put in place and gender-sensitive data must be accessible to analyze the complex reality faced by women. Women across the hemisphere must have better access to credit, land, micro-entreprise training and genuine political power.

Although efforts were undertaken by organizers across Canada to encourage the participation of First Nations representatives in the consultations, only the Montréal meeting had a first Nations' participant. Their relative absence is in itself telling, considering that Canada is the country coordinator responsible for the sub-theme of indigenous populations under the poverty and discrimination basket. In Montréal, several recommendations for the Canadian proposal were made regarding the need to recognize ancestral rights and the right to self-government. It was also noted that a First Nations' Forum should be created with the power to make recommendations during the Summit. Finally, the perspective taken at the Summit on economic integration should be based on sustainable development, fair trade and partnership.

Comments on each basket

Basket I. Education

This basket led to the least debate. In some meetings, the discussion did not result in specific recommendations. While many participants had comments to make about the other baskets, in general only representatives of educational institutions commented on this one. The goals of 100% enrollment rate for primary school and 75% for secondary school were seen as obvious ("like motherhood and apple pie" as was said in Edmonton).

Nevertheless, Canadians seem to perceive this basket as a primary channel for hemispheric cooperation and as an important tool for "coming closer" to their neighbours from across the Americas. They are supportive of exchanges of all kinds. They are concerned about access to education for disadvantaged groups in Latin America and the Caribbean. They believe that Canada has a contribution to make in the fields of distance education and access to knowledge using new technologies.

Basket II. Preserving and Strengthening Democracy and Human Rights

This basket was seen as very important and in some cases as the repository of all the issues. Two specific proposals on human rights were: the need to include social, economic and cultural rights in the Brazil/Canada proposal to the Summit on this issue, and to ratify the Inter-American Convention on Human Rights. On the theme of democracy, participants would like CIDA to expand its democratic development and human rights programs in the Americas. The Brazil/Canada proposal was criticized as being too restrictive. As explained in the previous section "Key issues and areas of convergence", many participants expressed the need for a more elaborate process of consultation and future civil society involvement in hemispheric decision-making.

Basket III. Economic integration and free trade

As mentioned before, this basket led to the most debate, the longest discussions and the largest number of recommendations. Many recommendations contain specific policy options, such as adherence to ILO conventions, the need for a social clause, the official recognition of the parallel process, the need to assess NAFTA and to closely monitor the impact of the FTAA. Predictably, participants use their experience with NAFTA to evaluate and analyze a potential FTAA. They advocate a soft and slow approach with careful consideration of the possible impact of the agreement on all segments of the population. They do not see the need to "rush" the process and instead want to ensure full debate of all the issues and democratic processes of ratification in Canada and elsewhere.

Basket IV. Eradication of poverty and discrimination

This basket as defined in the Summit agenda includes a long list of sub-themes and can be seen as a "grab bag" or "catch all." It is not surprising then that the related discussions and policy options were somewhat scattered and lacked cohesion. The issue of poverty reduction remains a primary concern for many of the participants. They raised urgent poverty issues such as human resources development, food security, water and sanitation services, the situation of the indigenous peoples, micro-industry development and the role of women. They advocate increasing budget allocations for ODA in Latin America and the Caribbean.

LIST OF POLICY OPTIONS

Basket I. Education

General

- Canada should maintain its strong advocacy role and its commitment to advance Latin American education at all levels through enhancing CIDA and other programs.

- Canadian governments and universities supported by the public and private sectors should expand and develop programs and scholarships to assist Latin Americans with university education, trade and technical training.

- Access, equity, participation and relevance of curricula must be addressed throughout the Americas including Canada, using a multidisciplinary approach.

Access

- Access to elementary, secondary and post-secondary schooling must become more equitable and include disadvantaged classes and women, in all fields of studies.

- About the goal of secondary enrolment rate of 75% as stated in the draft proposal from Mexico, the rate used should be the success rate and not the enrolment rate, since the former is more representative of the health of a school system.

Distance education

- Canada should make available its technical and curriculum knowledge to expand internet, satellite systems and television training programs in the field of distance education. Special attention should be given to the education of girls and women, indigenous and the poor.

- Programs must be developed to promote technology management, quality control and long-distance teaching.

Exchanges

- Exchanges should be promoted and scholarships made available for Latin Americans to study in Canada and for Canadians to study in Latin America.

- Opportunities to study in the developed countries should be open to all students and not just to the elite of the South.

Others

- Canada should urge Latin American governments to follow-up their commitments to educational reform by announcing specific budget levels devoted to this area.

- A hemispheric conference on education should take place and should address issues such as decentralization, public funding and distribution.

- Canada should act as a leader in supporting the teaching of human rights issues through public education systems across the Americas.

- Post-secondary education in Canada should critically review its curriculum regarding Latin America, and be more committed to providing sound knowledge to Canadian students on the cultures of the South.

Basket II. Preserving and Strengthening Democracy and Human Rights

Human rights

- All basic human rights to subsistence, security, participation and mobility should be advanced while trade and economic goals are pursued.

- The draft proposal on human rights and democracy as well as the draft workplan (Brazil-Canada initiative) focus exclusively on civil and political rights and disregard economic, social and cultural rights. This must be changed.

- Canada should ratify the American Convention on Human Rights. This will enhance its credibility as an advocate of international human rights abroad, and expand the rights of Canadian citizens. (two examples: prohibition against monopolization of the media which is not protected under the Canadian Charter; article 26 which commits the state to promote and enact legislation to enhance economic, social and cultural rights).

- Summit participants should go beyond defending certain human rights and engage in the promotion of all human rights.

- The Canadian government must defend the need for coherence between positions and agreements taken at the international level and those taken at the hemispheric level (reference to ILO and UN Conventions). Other international commitments made by Canada must be reviewed to understand their impact on human rights.

- Canada should put more emphasis on human rights observance and compliance (e.g. Universal Declaration of Human Rights) , and less on institutions.

Democratic development

- The Declaration of Principles and Plan of Action from the Miami Summit are consistent with Canadian views of government and society and should continue to be supported.

- The Canadian government should increase funding to CIDA for expanded projects related to investment in democracy and the advancement of human rights in Latin America.

- There needs to be a more global approach to democracy in the Brazil-Canada proposals. It is now reduced to electoral processes and bypasses democratic institutions within the state and civil society. The issue of the administration of justice is presented from a technical perspective and should focus instead on central issues such as the independence of the judiciary and access to justice by marginalized populations.

Public participation

- Civil society participation in decision-making must be strengthened. The government of Canada must hold open, ongoing, meaningful and legitimate consultations coupled with the provision of resources to promote the participation of civil society. Civil society organizations should be represented and not just individuals. Relevant issues should be integrated rather than compartmentalized (e.g. focus consultations on trade policy rather than on trade aspects of APEC, FTAA, WTO, etc.). Consultations must give more time and space to civil society and permit internal debate and discussion within organizations. Consultations should be interactive processes of exchange with elected and government officials, rather than a one-way flow of recommendations which do not get a response. They must not become a limited process which legitimizes government positions or simply a closed debate between experts.

- In order to make the official Canadian delegation to the Santiago Summit more balanced and representative, delegates from the NGOs, the labour sector and other civil society representatives should be appointed, as well as provincial governments officials, as full-fledged members.

Cuba

- Cuba should be included in all discussions and negotiations, and be invited to participate in the Santiago Summit.

Basket III. Economic integration and free trade

Labour issues

- The following core labour standards of the International Labour Organization (ILO) must be enshrined in trade agreements: freedom of association, freedom to form unions, right to collective bargaining, the prohibition of child labour and forced labour, equal remuneration for equal work and the banning of employment discrimination on the basis of sex, race or religion.

- Canada should take the lead in advocating core labour standards.

- A tri- or multi-national commission on North American or American labour rights should be formed.

- There should be mechanisms for sharing information on labour codes and regulations at a hemispheric level.

- Multilateral mechanisms to control labour codes must be efficient, operational and ensure effective compliance. They should be based on existing international legislation.

- The issue of child labour should be on the Summit agenda.

- Provisions must be included in free trade agreements for "fair" wages, regulating the contracting out of work and work done in the informal sector.

Social clause

- Core labour standards should form part of a Charter of Social and Economic Rights for the Citizens of the Americas.

- A priority must be to include a social clause within trade agreements, using the European community as a model. The clause must be included as an integral part of trade agreements and not in a parallel agreement. To be effective, the clause must include mechanisms for economic and political sanctions as well as autonomous verification mechanisms.

Environmental impact

- Mechanisms for environmental protection must be created and included in trade agreements to regulate the action of corporations and governments.

Parallel processes

- The Canadian government must publicly recognize the importance of a social dimension to trade agreements and support the civil society parallel summit.

- The Labour and Social Forum must be officially recognized and a working group on labour protection must be established as one of the FTAA working groups.

Assessment of NAFTA

- The Canadian government should commission evaluative studies on the real impact, benefits and detriments of NAFTA that will assist planning for future initiatives toward economic integration.

Preparing for the FTAA

- The Canadian government must undertake a global analysis of the impact of a possible economic integration accord on fundamental rights, in particular social and economic rights. Indicators of human development should be used as evaluation tools.

- A hemispheric institution must be created to collect and analyze data, and to produce detailed evaluations of the impact of economic integration, in particular on issues such as income, distribution of wealth, school enrolment rates and environmental sustainability.

- An economic and social development fund should be created to compensate for the negative impact of economic integration, such as in the European community.

Negotiation and ratification processes

- There must be a gradual negotiation process, allowing each country to adopt transitional policies. Progressive negotiations will allow better identification of opportunities and threats faced by different economic sectors;

- There must be democratic means of ratifying an agreement such as FTAA in each country of the Americas.

- A national referendum should be held on any new free trade agreement, thus facilitating open debate, enhancing the democratic process and serving as a means of educating Canadians about any new accord (as happened in Europe after the Traité de Maastricht was signed).

Capital controls

- People must be protected from the vulnerability and instability caused by speculative capital. Measures must be taken to strengthen domestic regulations and review, particularly, short-term investments. Measures affecting banking, tax systems and the regulation of profit must be considered.

Sovereignty issues

- Investor-state dispute mechanisms, staffed by appointed trade officials, should not be empowered to make decisions affecting health care and the environment or deal with questions of expropriation. Nations should remain able to pursue their environmental concerns and social programs without being constrained by mechanisms included in a free trade agreement.

- The ability to derogate should be included in any free trade agreement, thus enabling elected, rather than appointed officials, to deal with social issues, expropriation and the environment.

Code of ethics

- In order to combat charges that some processes take place in secrecy, the Canadian government should establish a code or charter of ethics for businesses investing in Latin America. And, codes of conduct should be included in any free trade agreement.

Others

- The debt situation must be resolved in order to have negotiations among equals.

- The US proposal on labour rights must include compliance mechanisms and be clearer regarding core labour standards.

- It is very important to include First Nations in the economic integration process. A Forum of First Nations should be created, officially recognized and mandated to formulate proposals at the Summit.

- A tri- or multi-national equitable growth board should be established as part of free trade agreements.

- Binding stipulations should be included in any free trade agreement mandating as a basis for continuing participation in the agreement a certain distribution of wealth, the reaching of an agreed-upon literacy rate, and/or the reduction of the infant mortality rate to an agreed-upon level.[4]

- Economic integration should be envisioned from the perspective of sustainable development and in the spirit of fair exchanges and partnerships.

Basket IV. Eradication of poverty and discrimination

- Canada should continue to support the ideas and concepts of the Miami Declaration of Principles.

- The struggle against poverty must be the cornerstone for the whole debate on integration and must be linked to the promotion of human rights within the wide context of economic integration and its perverse effects on populations.

- Canada should increase its ODA budget, with the perspective of decreasing the dependency of the South vis à vis the North. Technology transfer and democratization of knowledge are crucial to this end.

- All governments in the Americas should give strong support to human resource development and stop slashing social programs. Social development is as important as economic development. Canada should encourage greater sectoral involvement with the private sector playing a more important role in the promotion of the social agenda.

- Canada should support initiatives to protect the production of food, and watch over land tenure issues, agrarian reform, ways to ease debt repayments, sustainability of the land, and security for agrarian peoples of the Americas.

- Agrarian reform must be implemented in order to improve the quality of life of the rural population.

- Through CIDA programs, Canada should continue to assist with projects to provide potable water and basic sanitation services.

- Increased support should be given to Canadian programs that advance the living standards, education, economic endeavour and political participation of indigenous communities throughout the Americas. The work of Canadian NGOs in these areas should be supported.

- In its proposal for the Summit, the Canadian government should recognize the ancestral rights of First Nations and their right to self-government. In doing so, it should be guided by the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and the Royal Commission on First Nations (Erasmus-Dussault).

- The issue of racism as distinct from discrimination should be addressed during the Summit.

- Canada should develop programs to advance women's education and health in Latin America. The work of Canadian NGOs in these areas should be supported.

- On sustainable development, an Environment Charter should be adopted during the Santiago Summit. The basis of the charter should be the conclusions of the Rio Summit to which Canada has already signed on.

FINAL WORD

This report was submitted to the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Affairs on December 4th 1997. A copy was sent to each of the approximately 140 civil society representatives across Canada who participated in the regional consultations. The report is posted on the FOCAL website mentioned in the introduction. FOCAL will undertake efforts to promote and disseminate the results of the consultations and ask for a government response before the Summit. It will attempt to organize a meeting of representatives of the regional forums with key ministers of the Canadian government in the early months of 1998.

The organizations and individuals that met in Toronto expect to hear back from the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade regarding the use and impact of, and follow-up to, their recommendations. They expect to be informed by the government about what it will do to encourage ongoing civil society participation in the process leading to, and following up, the Summit as well as the forthcoming FTAA negotiations.

Annex 1. Recommendations addressed to sectors other than government

Basket II. Preserving and strengthening democracy and human rights

- Civil society must participate in the Summit and FTAA processes through various means, such as seeking formal representation in the negotiations as well as pursuing alternative civil society networks to expand hemispheric social alliances and to present alternative proposals to the neoliberal model.

Basket III. Economic integration and free trade

- We should work in Canada to put in place a parallel social forum in order to support , strengthen and deepen the efforts at the hemispheric level.
- Corporations must adhere to what is now a voluntary code of conduct of international business.

Annex 2. Other recommendations

- Promote and develop training programs which will contribute to the technical and professional upgrading of workers in Free Trade Zones, whenever this is required;
- Comply with the legal provisions on occupational health and safety in Free Trade Zones.
- There should be total freedom for the mobility of labour, and the distinction between the rights of temporary and permanent residents should be eliminated.
- Existing CIDA structures could be used to promote micro-industry or enterprise development. For the oil industry of Bolivia, for example, local people could be encouraged to represent foreign suppliers of products, establish repair facilities, and manufacture required products using a blend of local and imported primary materials. CIDA could provide connections to both Canadian suppliers and local end users, and work with local banking institutions to provide small amounts for financing. This same approach could be used for other industries.
- Measures must be taken to help ensure freedom of the press.
- Canada should pursue global harmonization of environmental standards.

- Canada should support attempts to demilitarize the drug trade.
- Intellectual property rights should not be privatized.
- Canadians, as consumers, should be educated as to the impact of their buying habits.
- Human security should be made a priority.

Annex 3. Calendar of consultations, partner organisations and list of participants

Date of consultation	Location	Partner organisation
October 17th 1997	Edmonton	FOCAL-West and the University of Alberta
October 21st 1997	Vancouver	FOCAL-West and the University of British Columbia
October 21st 1997	Fredericton	FOCAL-Atlantic
October 24th 1997	Toronto	Centre for Research on Latin America and the Caribbean (CERLAC), York University
October 31st 1997	Montréal	Groupe de recherche sur l'intégration continentale (GRIC) of the Université du Québec à Montréal

List of Participants

Acuna, Ricardo
Change for Children Association, Edmonton

Alderman, Peter
St. Thomas University, Fredericton

Angel, Barbara
University of Manitoba,Winnipeg

Antipan, Ramon
Alberta Federation of Labour, Edmonton

Archer, Christon
The University of Calgary, Calgary
Director of FOCAL-West

Atack, Peter
Carleton University, Ottawa

Barr, Gerry
United Steelworkers of America, Toronto

Bartram, Trevor
LL.B. Counsel, Emerging Markets, Toronto

Bayles, Jim
MacMillan Bloedel, Vancouver

Begin, Bertrand
Canadian Labour Congress, Moncton

Benmergui, Marlene
journalist CBC, Thornhill

Besabe, Omar
University of St. Thomas, Fredericton

Black, William
University of British Columbia, Vancouver

Blais, Lise
Solidarite populaire Québec, Montréal

Bleyer, Peter
Council of Canadians, Ottawa

Boyce, Susan
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Brock, Michael
Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Ottawa

Campbell, Bruce
Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, Ottawa

Carter, Terry
New Brunswick Federation of Labour, Chatham

Chambers, Ted
University of Alberta, Edmonton

Clark, Jeffrey
Human Rights Research and Education Centre, University of Ottawa, Ottawa

Close, David
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Cooney, James P.
Placer Dome Inc., Vancouver

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Fédération des travailleurs et travailleuses du Québec, Montréal

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CUSO-Québec, Montréal

Cromwell, Jim
Advanced Education and Labour, Fredericton

de Sousa-Shields, Mark
Centro de Encuentros y Dialogos, Toronto

Dean, Elsie
National Action Committee on the Status of Women, Vancouver

Deonandan, Kalowatie
University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon

Dickerson, Mark
University of Calgary, Calgary

Dillon, John
Ecumenical Coalition for Economic Justice, Toronto

Drache, Daniel
York University, North York

Ducharme, Nikolas
Federation des étudiants d'Universite du Québec, Montréal

Dussault, Manuel
Alliance des manufacturiers et exportateurs du Québec, Montréal

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B.C. Casa, North Vancouver

Elwell, Christine
Queen's University, Toronto

Escudero, Monica
Simon Fraser University, Burnaby

Foster, John W.
University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon

Galan, Manuel
Malaspina International, Calgary

Garon, Muriel
Commission des droits de la personne du Québec, Montréal

Geadah, Yolande
Association québécoise des organisations de coopération internationale, Montréal

Grant Cummings, Joan
National Action Committee on the Status of Women, Toronto

Grenier, Carl
Ministere de l'Industrie et du Commerce, Montréal

Grinspun, Ricardo
York University/CERLAC (Centre for Research on Latin America and the Caribbean), North York

Guay, Lorraine
Fédération des femmes du Québec, Montréal

Gunn, Joe
Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, Ottawa

Handy, Jim
University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon

Hennessy, Dean
York University/CERLAC (Centre for Research on Latin America and the Caribbean), North York

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N.B. Agriculture and Rural Development, Fredericton
Ingersoll, Gerald
NB Community College, St. Andrews

Irwin, Rosalind
York University, North York

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Jankowski, Christopher K.
Universite de Moncton, Moncton

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Province of Alberta, Edmonton

Judson, Fred
University of Alberta, Edmonton

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Canadian Labour Congress, Ottawa

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Legler, Tom
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Développement et paix, Montréal

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Canadian Labour Congress, Don Mills

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Martinez, Juan Carlos
University of Mount Allison, Sackville

Mason, Steve
Fredericton

Matwychuk, Margot
University of Victoria, Victoria

McWilliams, Cal
Canadian International Development Agency, Hull

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Association des avocats en droit du travail, Montréal

Milner, Rick
Nova Gas International, Calgary

Moore, Stan
Canadian International Development Agency, Hull

Moore, Roger
St. Thomas University, Fredericton

Moore-Kilgannon, Bill
Centre for International Alternatives, Edmonton

Muratorio, Blanca
The University of British Columbia, Vancouver

Navratil, Steven
University of Calgary, Calgary

Nef, Jorge
University of Guelph, Guelph

Noel, Dexter J.
University of New Brunswick, Fredericton

North, Liisa L.
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Earthkeeping, Edmonton

Otero, Gerardo
Simon Fraser University, Burnaby

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University of New Brunswick, Fredericton
Director FOCAL-Atlantic

Paquette, Pierre
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Ligue des droits et libertés, Montréal

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Comité pour la justice sociale, Montréal

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Picard, Ghislain
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University College of the Fraser Valley, Abbotsford

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Canadian Council for International Cooperation, Ottawa

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World Vision Canada, Mississauga

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Robinson, David
Canadian Center for Policy Alternatives, Vancouver

Rochlin, James F.
Okanagan University College, Kelowna

Rothschild, Jonathan
Canadian International Development Agency, Hull

Routledge, Marg
Oxfam, Fredericton

Roy, Marianne
Solidarité populaire Québec, Montréal

Rumsey, Suzanne
Inter-Church Committee on Human Rights in Latin America, Toronto

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Dalhousie University, Halifax

Sanmiguel, Olga
York University, North York

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Ministry of Employment and Investments, Victoria

Schenk, Chris
Ontario Federation of Labour, Don Mills

Schmidt, Bob
Canadian Catholic Organization for Development and Peace, Edmonton

Schnied, Syd
Telecommunications Workers Union, Burnaby

Seymoar, Nola-Kate
International Institute for Sustainable Development, Winnipeg

Simmons, Alan B.
York University, North York

Spence, Rhonda
Trade Union Group, Vancouver

St. John, Cameron
Teck Corporation, Vancouver

Stedman, Charles
Strategic Intell.-Nova Gas International, Calgary

Taylor del Cid, Alex
University of Calgary, Calgary

Tellier-Cohen, Lorraine
Montreal International, Montréal

Thede, Nancy
Centre international des droits de la personne et du developpement democratique, Montréal

Tonge, Barry
University of Alberta, Edmonton

Torres, Marta
Christian Task Force on Central America, Vancouver

Torres, Carlos
CERLAC(Centre for Research on Latin America and the Caribbean), North York

Traynor, Ken
Canadian Environmental Law Association, Toronto

Trudel, Clement
Le Devoir, Montréal

Trumper, Ricardo
Okanagan University College, Kelowna

Trumper, Camilo
University of British Columbia, Vancouver

Welton, Larry
Community College Saint John, West Field

Young, Richard
The University of Alberta, Edmonton

Young, Bill
Canadian International Development Agency, Hull

ATLANTIC CANADA CONSULTATION FOR THE SUMMIT OF THE AMERICAS

FINAL REPORT

Context of the Consultation

In December, 1994 the first Summit of the Americas composed of representatives of all OAS Member States was held in Miami. Under the Miami Summit *Plan of Action* Canada, together with Brazil, was tasked to coordinate the "Basket" in Human Rights and Democracy.

FOCAL-Atlantic organized one of the five regional consultation workshops to discuss Atlantic Canada's position on the Summit's social and economic agenda. The event focused on democracy, human rights and economic integration.

The meeting took place on Tuesday, October 21, 1997 at the University of New Brunswick (Fredericton campus). Twenty eight people attended the workshop which started at 9:00 am and ended at 4 pm.

From the outset it was generally agreed that all governments in the Americas should give stronger support to human resources development. It was felt that, in recent years, governments throughout the region had been slashing budgets dedicated to social programs in a very indiscriminatory fashion with a complete disregard for the valuable contribution of many of these programs.

Challenges Facing Democracy and Human Rights

In the area of social development in the Americas, participants emphatically endorse the following:

- the social agenda should be an imperative and social development needs to be considered as important as economic development;

- each country in the Americas is as diverse, complex and sophisticated as our own. Therefore, North American corporate culture needs to understand and appreciate the cultural difference of the South;

- racism continues to permeate the Americas. Although old attitudes die hard, this type of discrimination demands immediate attention;

- states increasingly neglect their social responsibilities; governments must strengthen the human and institutional capacities of their societies.

Participants recommend that Canada:

- use more strategically its "secret weapon" which is cultural diversity to become a more potent and visible actor at the international level;

- be more pro-active in supporting the social agenda of the Americas;

- encourage the political, social and economic transition of the Americas while respecting the choices made by each country;

- make its experience with the US better shared with the countries of the Americas as Canada has much to offer by way of dealing with the US;

- advocate anti- paternalism, encourage partnership and support non-racist and non-sexist policies;

- adopt a team approach to the Summit that will include all sectors of Canadian society;

- educate its population on the true meaning of partnership as a two-way process in which one side learns from the other and vice versa.

- promote local-level initiatives with financial support based on the merits and specificities of local situations and of each particular case;

- encourage greater sectoral involvement with the private sector playing a more important role in the promotion of the social agenda.

Prerequisite for Change

Participants note that, while Canada (along with Brazil) is coordinating the Human Rights and Democracy Basket, it has not yet signed and ratified the American Convention of Human Rights nor recognized the jurisdiction of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights.

It is recommended that; if Canada does ratify the treaty not only will this enhance its credibility as an advocate of international human rights abroad, but it will also enhance and expand the rights of Canadian citizens. There are rights contained within the American Convention - such as

a right to reply and a prohibition against monopolization of the media which are not protected by the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedom.

Moreover, article 26 of the Americas Convention commits the state-parties to promoting and enacting legislation to enhance the economic, social and cultural rights outlined in the 1988 "Additional Protocol to the American Convention on Human Rights in the area of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights". This is a concrete step towards putting resources on both human rights and social integration.

Focus on Labour Issues

Participants note the negative consequences of a market-driven integration approach on workers in the Americas. In the countries of the North, economic integration has meant loss of jobs, wage reduction and erosion of social benefits, among others.

Participants recommend, as a matter of urgency, that labour protection be placed in the Canadian policy for the Americas. The following principles should be included:

- the official recognition of the Labour Forum and the establishment of a working group on labour rights;

- the incorporation of new bilateral and multilateral trade agreements;

- the recognition of core labour standards and the creation of mechanisms for effective compliance with these by the countries in the Americas including:

  . freedom of association,
  . right to organize and bargain collectively,
  . restrictions on child labour and forced labour,
  . banning of employment discrimination on the basis of sex, race or religion;

- the creation of environmental protection mechanisms to regulate the action of large corporations and conglomerates which threaten the quality of life. In addition, social justice demands that agrarian reform be implemented in order to improve the quality of life of the rural population;

- a gradual negotiation process, allowing each country to adopt appropriate transitional policies. Progressive negotiations will allow better identification of opportunities and threats faced by different economic sectors;

- access to information, the establishment of mechanisms facilitating collective bargaining, a democratic control over the action of transnational corporations operating in the region, since these are the principal beneficiaries of economic integration;

- the adoption of a Charter of Social and Labour Rights by the countries of the Americas.

With regards to Free Trade Zones, recommendations are as follows:

Once the concessions have been granted, the grantees must:

- guarantee proper working conditions, decent wages, and the rendering of basic and indispensable services to the labour force in conformity with regional, national and international practices;

- promote and develop training programs which will contribute to the technical and professional upgrading of the workers, whenever this is required;

- comply with the legal provisions on occupational health and safety.

Focus on Educational Issues

Participants unanimously recognize that education represents an important investment in human capital. It contributes to socioeconomic development by endowing individuals with the means to improve their skills, knowledge and capability for productive work.

Participants note, however, that the educational situation among the countries in the Americas is not homogeneous and that striking differences remain. Significant inequalities are found in the enrollment ratios and, consequently, in the degree of schooling of the populations in general. Gender and class disparities also exist in the internal distribution of fields of study.

It is recommended that:

. access
. equity
. participation
. relevance of curricula

be addressed throughout the Americas including Canada;

- a multidisciplinary approach involving universities, governments and the private sector be adopted in the Americas;

- programs to promote technology management, quality control and long distance teaching be developed;

- education be a two ways exchange whereby the North and the South share their knowledge;

- access to elementary, secondary and post secondary schooling become more equitable for disadvantaged classes and for women in all field of studies;

- opportunities to study in the developed countries be open to all students and not just to the elite of the South;

- that high school education be available to all and better integrated with the elementary educational systems of the South;

- in Canada, that post-secondary education be more critical of the values it holds regarding Latin America, and more committed to provide sound knowledge to Canadian students on the culture of the South.

Focus on Democracy

It is noted that the existence of authoritarian, elitist and corrupt political systems have led to a loss of legitimacy and of trust on the part of the populations in the South.

It is recommended that in order for democracy to develop:

- military budgets be decreased;

- values, practices and perceptions be changed;

- national policies be transparent;

- national agencies be created with sound legal and institutional status so as to be endowed with a high degree of political and social legitimacy in order to develop public policies for the benefit of all sectors of society.

These concerns are presented with both a sense of urgency and a spirit of collaboration. They should be given serious consideration and incorporated into the overall formation of the Canadian approach to the summit.

Respectfully submitted,

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Compte-rendu

de la réunion de Consultation du 31 octobre 1997

en prévision du

Sommet de Santiago d'Avril 1998

(avec la liste des organismes participants en Annexe)

(version finale)

Département de sociologie
GRIC/UQAM

Introduction

Dans ses efforts pour créer un espace de discussion au Canada autour de l'intégration continentale, la Fondation canadienne pour les Amériques (FOCAL) a mis sur pied une série de cinq réunions dans cinq villes différentes afin de consulter divers groupes et personnalités issues de la société civile canadienne. Les objectifs de cet exercice sont multiples et ils s'inscrivent, en particulier, dans une intention clairement manifestée, par le gouvernement canadien lui-même, de procéder à ce que l'on appelle désormais, une consultation de la société civile. En effet, les 34 partenaires du Sommet de Miami de 1994 avaient manifesté l'intention de consulter leur propre société civile, mais il semble que bien peu ont effectivement donné suite à cet engagement. Quoi qu'il en soit, ce processus de consultation devait être mené en prévision de la tenue d'un second sommet des chefs d'État et de gouvernement, le Sommet de Santiago, qui doit avoir lieu en avril 1998. Aux fins d'organisation de la consultation prévue au Québec, c'est vers le Groupe de recherche sur l'intégration continentale (GRIC) de l'Université du Québec à Montréal que FOCAL s'est tournée et c'est donc le GRIC qui a assumé cette responsabilité et qui a mis sur pied la journée de consultation dont on trouve ci-avant le rapport.

La présentation de FOCAL et de l'esprit de la consultation a été faite, en début de journée, par M. Denis Leclerc, directeur, et Mme Odette Langlais, chargée de projet, qui ont accueilli la trentaine de participantes et de participants ayant accepté de faire part de leurs perspectives, critiques et propositions lors de leur passage à Montréal le 31 octobre 1997 à partir des trois documents qui leur avaient été acheminés au préalable, à savoir le Document intitulé «La trousse» émanant du Ministère des affaires extérieures et du commerce international (MAECI), ainsi qu'un Document de fond et un Document de discussions rédigés tous deux à la demande de FOCAL même. Il avait au préalable été convenu, au moment même du processus de la convocation des participantes et participants par le GRIC, que le document central à retenir aux fins de la

consultation, ce devait être, en priorité et à l'avantage des deux autres celui qui émanait du Ministère des affaires extérieures et du commerce international.

L'ordre du jour de la réunion prévoyait un découpage de la journée en deux blocs, un premier bloc étant consacré à quatre présentations autour de quatre thèmes d'ordre général susceptibles d'alimenter les discussions et recommandations à venir, et un second bloc consacré aux échanges, réflexions et propositions issus des participants eux-mêmes. Les quatre présentations qui devaient se succéder en avant-midi, ont été faites respectivement par Mme Lorraine Guay au nom de la Fédération des Femmes du Québec (FFQ), par M. Ghislain Picard, Chef régional de l'Assemblée des premières-nations du Québec et du Labrador, par Me Claude Melançon, de l'Association des avocats en droit du travail et par M. Peter Bakvis, de la Confédération des syndicats nationaux. Chacune des présentations a cherché à lier l'angle d'analyse retenu aux réflexions et commentaires apparaissant dans le document intitulé «La trousse». Il s'agissait donc de faire état de la question des femmes, des autochtones, des leçons à tirer de l'Accord parallèle sur le travail de l'ALÉNA, ainsi que de certaines conséquences de l'ALÉNA sur les niveaux d'emploi et les rémunérations, dans une perspective générale à la fois critique et constructive, face au processus de l'intégration hémisphérique et de ses retombées sur la société civile.

Quant aux discussions elles-mêmes, elles ont porté sur les quatre grands thèmes, appelés «corbeilles» dans le document officiel «La trousse». Il s'agit de la démocratie et des droits de la personne, de l'intégration économique, de la pauvreté et, enfin, de l'éducation. Nous présentons ci-dessous un compte-rendu succinct des propositions amenées par les participantes et participants sur chacun de ces sujets, tout en consignant celles qui n'ont pas pu être insérée dans l'une ou l'autre «corbeille». Par la suite, nous ferons état des observations et critiques des participants et participantes face au processus de la consultation lui-même pour, en terminant, établir un bilan général de la journée.

1. Démocratie et droits de la personne

Cette «corbeille» fut de loin celle qui mobilisa le plus d'attention au cours de la rencontre. À cet égard, les propositions des participants ont porté sur l'importance de la reconnaissance des droits humains qui englobent les droits collectifs, et non pas uniquement les droits individuels. Il convient de souligner à ce propos que l'expression «droits humains» inclut à la fois les droits politiques et civils, ainsi que les droits économiques, sociaux et culturels. Or, on a bien souligné, au passage, que les propositions Brésil-Canada en prévision du Sommet de Santiago restreignent le débat à l'éventuelle reconnaissance des seuls droits politiques et civils. **Plus généralement, on a fait valoir qu'il ne devrait pas seulement s'agir, de la part des partenaires de l'intégration dans les Amériques, de se contenter de défendre des droits, mais bien plutôt de s'engager à promouvoir, dans une approche plus globale, les droits humains**. Cette ligne générale a permis l'acheminement de propositions qui ont été soumises à la discussion.

Pour le représentant de la Fédération des travailleurs et travailleuses du Québec (FTQ), **il faudrait s'assurer que le Canada prenne une position ferme sur la priorité d'inclure une clause sociale aux accords qu'il négociera, et que les groupes syndicaux et communautaires soient invités à participer au prochain sommet, en étant reconnus comme interlocuteurs à part entière**. Cette participation pourrait s'effectuer à l'intérieur d'un **"Forum social"**, une revendication déjà formulée lors d'un Sommet parallèle tenu à Belo Horizonte en mai 1997 à l'instigation de la Centrale unique des travailleurs (CUT) du Brésil, entre autres, sommet aux termes duquel les participants présents issus d'organisations sociales et populaires des Amériques avaient adopté une Déclaration qui allait dans ce sens. Une telle participation au sommet de la part d'organisations et de groupes issus de la société civile (syndicats, ONG, etc.) est envisagée par plusieurs comme un premier pas vers une réelle démocratisation du processus d'intégration. Il convient de noter, par ailleurs, qu'une telle

reconnaissance permettrait de rééquilibrer les rôles des partenaires sociaux puisque les gens d'affaires disposent, quant à eux, de leur propre Forum qui s'est vu accorder un statut officiel dans le processus d'intégration hémisphérique.

Certains participants ont en outre proposé **que les populations puissent se prononcer par voie référendaire à l'intérieur de chacun des pays sur l'adhésion à ces accords**, une démarche qui rejoindrait celle qui a déjà été appliquée en Europe communautaire dans la foulée de la signature du Traité de Maastricht.

Plus généralement, la démocratie et le démocratisme, comme l'ont souligné d'autres interventions, représentent des enjeux beaucoup plus importants et déterminants que ce que laissent entendre les documents officiels du Sommet et de FOCAL. Par exemple, Mme Thede du Centre international des droits de la personne et du développement démocratique a relevé qu'une véritable réflexion sur cette question centrale avait été omise et que l'on avait, en outre, réduit le concept de démocratie aux seuls processus électoraux, passant sous silence le problème des institutions démocratiques, tant au niveau de l'État qu'au niveau de la société civile. Le problème de l'administration de la justice, quoique central dans un système démocratique, est traité ici de façon plutôt technique et administrative, faisant fi des enjeux cruciaux de l'indépendance du système judiciaire et de l'accès à la justice pour les populations marginalisées. Elle soumet ainsi à la critique une conception de la démocratie telle qu'elle apparaît dans les textes et relève, au passage, l'importance de bien souligner que les gouvernements ne devraient pas se servir de la consultation à l'occasion de l'intégration hémisphérique pour négocier à la baisse les termes d'accords, d'ententes ou de traités par lesquels ils sont déjà engagés et liés au niveau international. À cet égard, la stratégie, de la part de certains gouvernements des Amériques, de détourner la réforme du système des droits humains de l'OEA pour l'engager du côté de la seule promotion, aux dépens de la protection des droits humains, constitue un virage tendancieux et partial. Les États visent plutôt, selon M. André Paradis de la Ligue des droits et libertés, à obtenir un cadre politique stable et sécuritaire pour la bonne réussite des accords économiques au lieu de s'engager dans une véritable «continentalisation sociale».

Le Canada devrait donc veiller à respecter ses propres engagements internationaux en la matière, par exemple, ceux auxquels il a souscrit dans le cadre de l'Organisation international du travail, de même que dans le cadre des instruments de l'ONU, et s'assurer de défendre, au Sommet de Santiago, une perspective sur la questions des droits différente de celle présentée aux participants lors de la consultation à Montréal, c'est-à-dire **de défendre, auprès de ses partenaires, l'idée de la cohérence indispensable et nécessaire entre les positions prises et les engagements souscrits au niveau international et les positions à prendre au niveau hémisphérique**.

La protection des droits du travail devrait s'étendre au secteur informel et inclure la reconnaissance du travail qui ne s'inscrit pas dans le cadre industriel, commercial ou manufacturier «classique», c'est-à-dire, par exemple, l'activité de travail faite en sous-traitance au foyer. Alors que les gouvernements étudient actuellement leurs codes du travail respectifs à huis-clos, le Sommet de Santiago devrait permettre d'ouvrir la porte à des mécanismes de concertations et de confrontations tripartites, comme il en existe présentement au Canada. En définissant des règles multilatérales de contrôle réellement applicables, efficaces et opérationnelles, les dispositions négociées devraient s'appuyer sur les législations internationales existantes. Le gouvernement canadien devrait également prendre l'initiative de mettre à l'ordre du jour du prochain Sommet la question du travail des enfants.

Une autre question centrale qui a été soulevée et discutée, c'est celle afférente à la promotion **d'une véritable Charte sociale**, voire de clauses sociales, dans l'esprit de celles qui ont été adoptées en Europe communautaire. Mme Thede a souligné que l'on devrait également s'attarder à définir les contours d'une "citoyenneté hémisphérique", une proposition à laquelle plusieurs participants ont apporté leur appui. Malheureusement, faute de temps pour approfondir cette question, la suggestion n'a pas pu être développée au cours de la journée.

Si, pour quitter le domaine des intentions, on s'attarde au problème de l'opérationnalisation de la proposition, où et comment devrait être négociée une telle clause sociale? À quel traité devrait-elle être rattachée? M. Bakvis insiste pour que **cette clause sociale soit insérée dans l'accord commercial lui-même, et non (comme ce fut le cas par le passé avec l'Aléna) dans un accord parallèle au traité de libre-échange**. Il s'agit de s'assurer que les engagements pris par les participants au Sommet soient véritablement respectés. L'efficacité d'une telle clause est largement tributaire, selon plusieurs participants, de la possibilité d'appliquer des sanctions économiques et politiques aux États réfractaires, comme c'est souvent le cas pour régler des contentieux commerciaux, mais elle est tributaire également des mécanismes de vérification autonomes mis en place. Les participants invitent donc le gouvernement canadien a accélérer le processus qui doit conduire à la signature et à la ratification d'une "convention inter-américaine". Par ailleurs, selon M. André Paradis, il ne faudrait pas porter un jugement trop rapide et global sur les mécanismes de protection des droits au plan international. Même l'application de sanctions suite à la violation des droits garantis par une éventuelle «clause sociale» ne serait pas chose facile. Dans le passé, les États n'ont eu recours à des sanctions économiques pour les violations de «droits humains» que lorsque celles-ci étaient massives, prolongées et très graves, comme pour l'Apartheid en Afrique du Sud et le Nigéria à l'heure actuelle. Il ne faut pas sous-estimer le potentiel des instruments déjà existants, par exemple, celui du Comité des droits sociaux, économiques et culturels de l'ONU comme on a pu le voir lorsqu'il a adressé une critique sévère à l'endroit du Canada lors de l'étude de son rapport quinquennal en 1991. Pour ce qui touche plus particulièrement au continent américain, il faut également prendre en considération le potentiel du système interaméricain des droits qui est actuellement l'objet d'une réforme. Le Canada pourrait davantage jouer un rôle positif dans cette réforme s'il ratifiait lui-même la Convention américaine; cela permettrait même, éventuellement, d'engager des recours supplémentaires pour des organismes d'ici. En résumé, il ne faudrait pas négliger le potentiel des instruments et mécanismes internationaux déjà existants en matière de protection des droit et, tout particulièrement dans les Amériques, le potentiel du système interaméricain qui est actuellement l'objet d'une réforme. Le

Canada devrait ratifier la Convention américaine, ce qui contribuerait à raffermir encore la réforme en cours.

M. Manuel Dussault de l'Alliance des manufacturiers et exportateurs du Québec a mis en doute la nécessité de lier aussi étroitement le commerce et les questions sociales dans des accords comme celui portant la création d'une ZLEA. Ce genre de rapprochement relève d'abord et avant tout du domaine politique. Il a cité à cet égard les récentes initiatives prises à l'instigation de l'Alliance qui favorise plutôt l'élaboration d'un code de déontologie que les membres s'engageraient à respecter dans leurs opérations à l'extérieur du pays.

Dans le cadre de la discussion sur les droits humains, l'importance d'inclure les peuples autochtones dans les processus d'intégration économique a été soulevée à maintes reprises. Plusieurs propositions ont par ailleurs été formulées par différents participants. Tout d'abord, **il a été proposé d'appuyer la création d'un Forum des peuples autochtones qui serait reconnu officiellement à titre d'interlocuteur et qui devrait être en mesure de formuler, au Sommet de Santiago**, des propositions formelles aux chefs d'états réunis. Pour pallier un manque flagrant d'éléments de réflexion dans les "trousses" de discussion pour le prochain Sommet à ce sujet, le gouvernement fédéral devrait, en outre, appuyer la reconnaissance des droits ancestraux des autochtones et leur droit à l'autonomie gouvernementale. Les balises devant guider cette prise de position, a suggéré M. Ghislain Picard, devraient être, d'une part, la Déclaration universelle sur les droits autochtones, et de l'autre, le Rapport de la commission royale sur les peuples autochtones (Erasmus-Dussault). M. Picard a également insisté pour que la démarche d'intégration entreprise soit faite dans un esprit d'échanges égalitaires et de partenariat. Aussi, précise-t-il, les États devraient réfléchir dans la perspective d'un développement durable, une vision que partage également M. Patrice Laquerre du Centre québécois du droit de l'environnement.

2. Intégration économique et ZLEA

L'essentiel des discussions sur ce thème, comme sur les deux autres d'ailleurs, s'est déroulé dans la perspective d'une intégration continentale qui devrait être articulée non seulement à des impératifs d'ordre strictement économique, mais qui devrait également faire droit à des exigences sociales fortes. Alors que la mondialisation des marchés sollicite et fait de plus en plus appel au travail des femmes pour réduire les coûts de main-d'oeuvre, que la création d'un environnement favorable aux affaires et aux investissements suppose la flexibilisation des marchés, parfois même au détriment de la protection de certains droits fondamentaux, un nouvel accord hémisphérique ne devrait pas servir à rajuster à la baisse les normes sociales, syndicales et environnementales. Il est donc nécessaire que le gouvernement reconnaisse que la libéralisation des marchés peut avoir des effets néfastes sur les communautés humaines et sur les milieux de vie. C'est pourquoi, aux yeux de plusieurs participants, le gouvernement fédéral devrait à tout prix prendre le «leadership» en ces matières et faire reconnaître, par ses partenaires, l'impérieuse nécessité de réglementer le marché, que ce soit au plan national ou au plan international, en adoptant des mesures concrètes dans le cadre des négociations hémisphériques en cours et à venir. L'intégration économique doit se faire sur la base d'échanges égalitaires, en intégrant des préoccupations en matière de développement durable et dans un souci de respect de l'environnement. Pour permettre l'application de mesures en ce sens, il est fondamental de se doter, lors du Sommet de Santiago, d'une Charte environnementale ayant comme base minimale les conclusions du Sommet de Rio, conclusions auxquelles le Canada a d'ailleurs souscrit.

Les participants proposent au gouvernement canadien de mettre de l'avant une analyse globale de l'impact d'une éventuelle intégration économique sur les droits fondamentaux, en particulier, sur les droits sociaux et économiques. Cette analyse des processus d'intégration devrait utiliser des indicateurs de développement humain comme outils d'évaluation. Une telle analyse devrait

éventuellement mener à la création de programmes de fonds compensatoires pour les travailleurs et les travailleuses victimes des effets pervers de l'intégration continentale. À ce propos, il pourrait s'avérer indispensable de prévoir la création et **la mise sur pied d'une instance hémisphérique de collecte et d'analyse de données** sur les sujets et thèmes qui ont été abordés jusqu'à maintenant, de même que sur les thèmes à venir; cette instance aurait la responsabilité de produire et d'analyser les données en question sur une base comparée et de soumettre des évaluations régulières et documentées sur les effets de l'intégration économique auprès de tous et chacun des partenaires. Les pays, tout comme les partenaires sociaux, disposeraient alors d'une information de base touchant l'état des situations dans des domaines comme la rémunération, les disparités, la scolarisation ou l'environnement, pour ne citer que ces seuls exemples.

Si les mécanismes d'intégration économique doivent également renforcer la coopération et les échanges entre les acteurs impliqués dans ce dossier, et s'il convient de favoriser l'émergence d'un dialogue social à l'échelle hémisphérique afin de contribuer à la mise en place d'une véritable continentalisation sociale, il faudrait alors commencer par enclencher le processus à l'intérieur de la société civile, ici même. En ce sens et pour faire bonne mesure, comme l'ont souligné les participants, **c'est d'abord au Canada, au Québec, que nous devrions travailler à la mise sur pied d'un forum social pour appuyer, soutenir et approfondir les positions et propositions qui ont été faites jusqu'à maintenant**. Un tel forum constituerait un préalable essentiel et déterminant en prévision de la reconnaissance d'un Forum social à l'échelle des Amériques. Le message lancé au gouvernement est le suivant: commençons ici ce que nous souhaitons faire ensuite à l'échelle des Amériques.

Finalement, **les participants proposent l'intégration de Cuba aux processus de consultation et de négociation**, pour que cesse la marginalisation dont ce pays est victime.

3. Pauvreté

Les participants déplorent le manque de perspective globale sur ce thème dans les documents qui leur ont été présentés. Ils déplorent aussi, et surtout peut-être, le fait que les documents de discussions aient cru devoir soustraire ce thème à la consultation. Une telle réflexion est pourtant nécessaire pour comprendre la problématique de la pauvreté comme frein principal à l'exercice des droits économiques et sociaux ainsi qu'au sain exercice des droits démocratiques. La pauvreté n'est pas un épiphénomène, c'est une des plaies de ce temps, une plaie qui fait des ravages grandissants au-delà et malgré tous les accords de libre-échange qui ont été signés depuis quelques années. Sa prise en compte doit être le point d'appui pour l'ensemble de la réflexion et elle doit être liée à la promotion des droits humains dans une conceptualisation large de l'intégration économique et de ses effets pervers sur les populations. À cet égard, la pauvreté représente bel et bien le plus grand défi économique et social des années à venir; si l'intégration économique ne sert pas à enrayer le cycle de l'appauvrissement croissant, le projet n'a pas de raison d'être valable et légitime.

Mme. Lise Blais, de SPQ, a rappelé que si le recours aux mesures économiques et politiques inspirées du néo-libéralisme permet de produire davantage de richesses, cette richesse est de plus en plus concentrée aux mains des mieux nantis, avec le résultat que nous n'avons jamais eu autant d'inégalités et autant de pauvreté. Les femmes représentent aujourd'hui plus de 70% des pauvres. Par ailleurs, elles constituent le contingent le plus important de l'emploi dans les «maquiladoras», c'est-à-dire dans les entreprises de sous-traitance et dans les zones franches. Si l'on ajoute à ces indicateurs l'accroissement du travail dans le secteur informel, l'augmentation du travail des enfants, on voit que les formes et modalités actuelles de l'intégration économique enclenchent en même temps un véritable processus de désintégration sociale.

Certaines propositions spécifiques ont émergé de la consultation concernant ce sujet. Tout d'abord, **le Canada devrait augmenter la part du PIB dédié à la coopération , dans la perspective d'un développement visant à rompre la dépendance du Sud envers le Nord.** De plus, le gouvernement fédéral doit encourager la création de mesures compensatoires, comme cela existe en Europe communautaire en particulier, sous la forme de la **création d'un fond de développement économique et social** afin de contrebalancer les éventuels effets pervers de l'intégration auprès des populations les plus touchées. Enfin, soulignent les participants, une lutte efficace contre la pauvreté implique un transfert technologique vers le Sud, mais aussi la démocratisation du savoir.

4. Éducation

Cette «corbeille» est en quelque sorte le parent pauvre de la présente consultation. Pourtant, souligne M. Daniel Lachance de la Centrale de l'enseignement du Québec (CEQ), l'éducation est la clé du développement économique, social, individuel et collectif. C'est pourquoi il importe de considérer les mesures d'ajustement structurel comme autant de mécanismes contribuant à la détérioration et au recul de l'éducation. Il nous faut réfléchir sur les indicateurs utilisés actuellement pour mettre fin à certaines ambiguïtés dans les documents présentés lors de la consultation. Ainsi, **le calcul du taux d'inscription au secondaire devrait céder sa place au taux de réussite, plus représentatif de la santé d'un système scolaire.** Pour qu'enfin l'éducation retrouve la place fondamentale qui lui est due, M. Lachance propose **l'organisation d'une conférence hémisphérique portant sur l'éducation, incluant les États et les organisations impliquées** A l'ordre du jour d'une telle rencontre, nous devrions retrouver la question de la décentralisation, à laquelle devrait se rattacher un certain nombre de principes fondamentaux, tels que le financement public et la péréquation. Finalement, le gouvernement canadien devrait s'inspirer, dans les positions qu'il prendra à ce sujet, de la Déclaration présentée par la CEQ sur les principes de l'éducation, principes qui rejoignent les conclusions auxquelles

sont arrivées les centrales syndicales d'enseignants sud-américaines lors d'une conférence tenue à Mexico récemment.

5. Conclusion: retour critique sur le processus de consultation

Contrairement aux objectifs que FOCAL s'était fixés, les participants jugent que cette consultation fut celle de personnes issues d'organisations de la société civile, et non de la société civile elle-même. Il convient alors d'insister sur le fait que la société civile n'est pas uniquement composée d'ONG comme le laisse entendre la documentation soumise d'une part, que ces ONG ne sont pas de simples exécutants de l'autre, mais qu'elles sont des partenaires à part entière, ayant leur problématisation propre et ayant également des comptes à rendre auprès de leurs membres. Il devient donc difficile, compte tenu des exigences d'imputabilité propre à chacune d'entre elles, de se soumettre à une consultation unilatérale dans des délais aussi courts. N'ayant pas eu le temps de consulter leurs organisations respectives, plusieurs participantes et participants ont dû assumer un rôle "d'expert" à défaut de pouvoir pleinement assumer celui de représentant en bonne et due forme. Par ailleurs, **ils et elles ont déploré le manque de place et d'espace accordé à la société civile elle-même** qui était pourtant l'instance interpellée de manière privilégiée dans tout ce processus monté à l'instigation du gouvernement canadien au point de départ. Il convient de bien souligner que la façon même dont on a procédé à l'opérationnalisation de cette consultation est loin d'être légitime puisque les représentants convoqués n'ont pas été en mesure de consulter véritablement leurs commettants, puisque nombre d'organismes ou d'organisations tout aussi légitimes que celles qui avaient été appelées à participer n'ont pas pu être approchés ni consultés: ces deux limites peuvent aller jusqu'à jeter un certain discrédit sur le processus même d'une consultation menée au sein de la société civile. On a rappelé à ce propos que plusieurs organismes invités à participer à la Consultation d'aujourd'hui avaient dû se désister pour cause de conflit d'horaire ou de manque de disponibilité. Ce fut le cas, en particulier, pour Alternatives, la

Coalition des assistés sociaux, ainsi que pour Amnistie Internationale. Par ailleurs, on n'a pas manqué de souligner que les textes préparatoires souffraient d'une limite majeure dans la mesure où ils ne faisaient droit qu'à une seule perspective, qu'à un seul point de vue, ce qui est décidément très difficile à accepter quand on sait le pluralisme qui caractérise toute société civile le moindrement démocratique et diversifiée. Si le gouvernement canadien entend reconnaître les contributions de la société civile, il doit être à son écoute et ne pas substituer sa propre vision à celle de ceux qu'il prétend consulter.

On n'a pas manqué non plus de souligner plusieurs autres biais dans la documentation fournie, en particulier, à propos de l'expression «peuple canadien» qui réduit de manière inacceptable la complexité de la réalité canadienne. Non seulement doit-on compter avec l'existence des peuples autochtones, mais il faut aussi compter avec celle du peuple québécois. Dans le même ordre d'idées, la documentation officielle devrait donc éviter de réduire la réalité autochtone à celle de groupes ethniques, ou encore, éviter d'assimiler les femmes à une catégorie.

Enfin, ce type de consultation, bien qu'enrichissant, doit s'élargir et céder la place à un véritable débat public pour ne plus être associé à un simple processus de légitimation ou à un débat d'experts. La préoccupation, exprimée dès le commencement de la journée, de favoriser par tous les moyens une réelle participation de la société civile conduit tout droit à la proposition suivante: **que le gouvernement canadien reconnaisse l'apport de la société civile et que, à cette fin, il prenne la responsabilité d'organiser des consultations ouvertes et légitimes auprès des citoyennes et citoyens de ce pays sur des enjeux qui les touchent au premier chef.** Il s'agit d'une véritable nécessité démocratique qui dépasse le cadre même du processus de consultation tel qu'il a été enclenché jusqu'à maintenant.

Montréal, le 17 novembre 1997.

ANNEXE:

Liste des organismes représentés à la réunion de consultation sur le Sommet de Santiago Montréal, le 31 octobre 1997 (UQAM, *Salle des boiseries*)

- Agence canadienne de coopération internationale
- Alliance des manufacturiers et exportateurs du Québec.
- Assemblée des premières nations du Québec et du Labrador
- Association des avocats en droit du travail
- Association québécoise des organisations de coopération internationale
- Centre international des droits de la personne et du développement démocratique
- Centrale de l'enseignement du Québec
- Centre québécois du droit de l'environnement
- Comité pour la justice sociale
- Commission des droits de la personne du Québec
- Conseil central de la Montérégie
- Conseil central de Montréal (CSN)
- Confédération des syndicats nationaux
- CUSO-Québec
- Développement et paix
- Fédération des femmes du Québec
- FOCAL

- Fédération des travailleurs et travailleuses du Québec
- Groupe de recherche sur l'intégration continentale
- Le Devoir
- Ligue des droits et libertés
- Ministère des relations internationales du Québec
- Ministère des affaires extérieures et du commerce international

  Montréal International
- Solidarité populaire Québec

Toward the Santiago Summit:
A Consultation with Civil Society
on Democracy, Human Rights, and Economic Integration

A Report on the Workshop Proceedings

Centre for Research on Latin America and the Caribbean (CERLAC)
York University

Friday, 24 October 1997

An Overview of the Workshop

The Centre for Research on Latin America and the Caribbean (CERLAC), in conjunction with the Canadian Foundation for the Americas (FOCAL), organized this public policy workshop at York University. The purpose of the event was to provide a forum for individuals and organizations from civil society in Ontario to express their views concerning the issues of democracy, human rights, and economic integration in the Americas and to furnish the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) with policy proposals in preparation for the Summit of the Americas planned for April 1998 in Santiago, Chile. A diverse group of approximately 35 participants from the university sector, non-governmental organizations, Canadian churches, the private sector, the media, and youth took part in the day's proceedings, with emphasis placed by the organizers on giving a voice to societal actors who have traditionally lacked institutionalized or regular means of influencing Canadian foreign policy.

The workshop agenda was divided into two sets of activities. In the morning, a series of five presentations were made by selected participants on the themes of "economic integration, social participation, and the Summit," and on "human rights, democratization, and the Summit." These presentations served as the basis for a subsequent round table discussion. In the afternoon, participants were sub-divided into three working groups: (1) human rights and democracy; (2) labour and social participation; and (3) economic integration, the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), and the Inter-American system. Each group discussed its respective topic, focusing on identifying the key issues for civil society in the FTAA and Summit processes, evaluating developments since the Miami Summit, and assessing a set of draft documents provided by DFAIT. At the end of the day, the working groups presented their findings and recommendations in a general plenary session. In what follows, this draft report highlights the views and recommendations expressed in the presentations and by the three working groups identified above. All these recommendations represent a consensus among the event's participants.

The Presentations

"Economic Integration, Social Participation, and the Summit"

Ricardo Grinspun, CERLAC

From the stand point of civil society, the process leading to the Summit and the FTAA is fundamentally flawed and problematic. The 1994 Summit was a great public relations event: it heralded a new era of equity, growth, and sustainable development. However, under the rhetoric of the Summit, we can perceive the creation of a new inter-American system, designed to suit the hegemonic needs of the US and those of large transnational corporations and financial capital. Canada, in general terms, has also been following policies that respond to the needs of corporate capital, disregarding the broader interests of Canadian civil society.

A new complex system of centre-periphery relations is being created which generates tremendous social imbalances and inequality. Politically, we must recognize the advance of democratisation since military regimes have been replaced by elected civilian governments. Nevertheless, the current system of liberal democracy enhances very narrowly conceived economic rights; moreover, there is a clear lack of accountability in the way in which the trade agreements are negotiated and implemented. Indeed, these deficiencies taken together have produced an informal institutionality in which the interests of civil society are confronted with the elites' needs for legitimation. Thus, the efforts across the Americas to generate a democratic legitimation, ironically, go hand in hand with social marginalization.

For civil society, the meaning of its incorporation is different since it includes other components that are derived from ethical and moral norms. The road to a better future in the hemisphere is to create democratic spaces for participation, and the first step is to open up the process of the Summit and the negotiation of a FTAA. We must create integration from the bottom up and not simply from the top down. Otherwise, we face a new order which is not sustainable.

Ken Traynor, Canadian Environmental Law Association

On integration and sustainability:

- A false dichotomy exists in the separate treatment of economic integration and sustainable development. Economic integration cannot be discussed without reference to its environmental and social impacts.
- Economic integration in the Americas has "ecological footprints;" that is, it has dramatic environmental impacts. Real environmental limits and concerns do not inform the process today, as they should.

On the need for institutions that protect social rights and defend environmental causes:

- The lack of institutions, or the pressures to weaken them where such institutions exist, are of concern to civil society in the Americas.

- We need institutions to promote diversity, not uniformity, through the process of economic integration.
- As it is presently conceived, the FTAA would liberalize investment regulations for corporations in an atmosphere of limited democratic rights, following the model of NAFTA and the WTO. It would confer rights upon corporations without having them assume responsibilities.
- The term "should," which is written into numerous international agreements and declarations, particularly in relation to labour, social and environmental issues (the signatory should do this or that...,), creates no obligation for compliance in international law. In contrast, when negotiators really care about the issue, such as the protection of investors' rights, they impose harsh penalties for infringement of the clause.

On the Canadian commitment to human rights and democracy in the Americas:

- A study commissioned by the Mexican Academy of Human Rights found that Canada's official support for human rights abroad is directed more at enhancing the technical capacity of state electoral organs than at strengthening civil society. Yet it is the latter which guarantees successful democratization.

On the role that Canada should play:

- Interaction with civil society, such as the current one, is welcome. However, a true commitment from the Canadian government will be reflected in an ongoing, meaningful consultation coupled with provision of resources to promote the participation of civil organizations in the consultation process.

On the strategy for civil society:

- Unless governments such as Canada's speak out, only social resistance and cross-border organizing in the Americas will alter the process to reflect truly social and environmental concerns.

Sheila Katz, Canadian Labour Congress

From the perspective of workers and communities, the process unleashed at the Miami Summit has been disastrous. While opening the negotiation process for hemispheric integration to the opinion and recommendations of the business community, the Miami Summit put in place an exclusionary process for most other sectors of society. Filled with rhetoric and empty promises for the people of the Americas, it spoke of progress in areas that are vital to civil society, such as poverty alleviation, health care, education, nutrition, and employment, yet these are areas which have all undergone deterioration since 1994. These disturbing trends are also replicated in Canada.

Mechanisms should be put in place to discourage international competitiveness based on low wages and weak labour standards. The five core labour standards of the ILO should be integrally linked to the international trading system and enshrined in trade agreements. These include: the freedom of association, the freedom to form unions, the right to collective

bargaining, the prohibition of child labour and forced labour, and equal remuneration for equal work (no discrimination).

The Canadian government, instead of having sporadic, ad hoc consultations with civil society at conjunctural moments, should set up an ongoing, meaningful process of consultation on trade policy. An annual consultation would be useful.

Civil society actors from the Americas recently issued a declaration at Belo Horizonte called Building an Hemispheric Social Alliance. The emerging civil society of the Americas represented in this declaration is planning to hold a parallel, alternative summit alongside that of Heads of State in Santiago. The Canadian Government is invited to support this civil society summit with resources and infrastructural support. It is encouraged to show leadership in the inter-American process in the sense of publicly recognising the importance of a social dimension. Canada should lead in opening space for civil society participation.

"Human Rights, Democratization, and the Summit"

Suzanne Rumsey, Inter-Church Committee on Human Rights in Latin America (ICCHRLA)

- Today, throughout the hemisphere, including Canada, the majority of the people face a crisis of exclusion, politically but most especially economically. People simply do not count in the hemispheric integration process. In Brazil, where the theology of liberation has its roots, people now speak of the theology of exclusion.
- The macroeconomic growth occurring in the hemisphere is not being reflected in the microeconomic reality of the majority of Latin Americans and of an increasing number of North Americans. The crisis of exclusion has manifested itself as a crisis of security: income and employment security, food and personal security.
- In the real world of human rights, economic, social, and cultural rights are intimately linked to civil and political rights. Nonetheless, official documents tend to separate the two families of rights, limiting the human rights discussion to civil and political rights. This is particularly evident in the Canadian Government's draft implementation proposal for human rights and democracy, as well as the Canadian draft proposed work plan. Both focus exclusively on civil and political rights. Nowhere does the discussion of economic, social, and cultural rights occur. To do so would challenge the economic model that Canada seems so committed to defend.
- The perception of ICCHRLA has been that the Canadian government has been very reluctant to take substantive action on human rights in those countries where it has significant and growing trade interests. In Colombia, human rights violations and repression are most rampant in those sectors where Canadian companies are particularly active.
- There is an inverse relationship between human rights realities and rhetoric. What is missing in reality is filled in with words.
- Canada should put more emphasis on human rights observance and compliance, and less on institutions, in its proposals.
- Without additional broad-based dialogue and consultation between governments and

civil society, the Santiago summit process will only contribute to further exclusion and crisis.

Joe Gunn, Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops

- It is common to find the terms democracy and elections used interchangeably. The experience of Canadian NGOs and church organizations, however, is that the two are not synonymous. One of the most obvious examples is Mexico. Despite improvements in electoral procedures during the most recent elections of July 6, 1997, many voters were denied their right to vote and numerous votes were invalidated. This reflects the still limited participation of civil society in the electoral process. Democracy needs civil society's participation because civil society is the guarantor of democracy. With civil society resides the foundation of political, economic, and social development.
- Canada promotes civil society participation at home and in the South, but the spending cuts in ODA, in terms of both social development projects in the Americas and support to local NGOs, curtail this country's ability to promote democratization and strengthen civil society at the same time that they limit the participation of civil society in the negotiation and implementation of trade agreements.
- Prime Minister Chretien and his Team Canada should consider meeting with Canadian civil society in order to obtain their input for their agenda and participation before they travel abroad.
- The exclusion of Cuba from the Summit is of concern. It should be included in the FTAA negotiation process.

The Recommendations

The following recommendations were pooled from the recommendations of the three working groups. They were adopted through the consensus of all civil society representatives in the workshop plenary session.

Human Rights and Democracy

- Civil and political rights should not be separated from social and economic rights. All basic rights – to subsistence, security, participation, and mobility – are related. It is imperative that human rights should advance at the same time that trade and economic goals are pursued. The current context indicates the opposite; for example, the FTAA process does not incorporate freedom of mobility for migrant workers.
- Social rights need to be an integral part of the process of economic integration – not "tacked on" as in the NAFTA. Corporations must be made to adhere to what is now a volunteer code of conduct of international business.
- The enforcement of human rights laws is an area of concern. Various human rights instruments have still not been ratified by different states, while other instruments of international law, such as the UN Bill of Rights, have not been observed by signatories.

Also, the law is not applied equally, despite the fact that it is legally stated on paper that human beings are all equal – regardless of gender, race, age, or ethnicity. For example, men's rights are still upheld more than women's.

- It is necessary to review critically international commitments made by Canada and other countries, to understand their impact on human rights. There may be cases where these commitments, based on narrow economic interests, undermine human rights.

Labour and Social Impacts

- The draft documents provided by DFAIT were abstract, superficial, and conservative. They make little mention of agriculture or land rights, indigenous people, and labour mobility. Social issues are completely separated from economic issues. The documents imply that economic growth leads naturally to improvements in education, health, and quality of life. This is not necessarily the case.
- The US proposal on labour is unclear regarding core labour standards and does not include compliance mechanisms. The documents do not contain proposals concerning remedies for workers who suffer violations of their rights.
- From a women's perspective, the system is fundamentally flawed and must be redefined. Women's views must be included as part of the discussion.
- The marginalization of aboriginal peoples should be a central point in Summit discussions and follow-up.

Economic Integration, the FTAA, and the Inter-American System

- The treatment of sustainable development and of economic integration in separate "tracks" (via the Bolivia Summit and via the "trade ministerials") is unacceptable. One cannot disentangle economic questions from the issue of sustainability.
- Countries' external debts create disparities in negotiations. One cannot have negotiations among equals unless the debt situation is resolved.
- A starting point is the recognition of the severe, harmful impact that trade agreements such as NAFTA have had on social indicators in North America. For example, it is important to assess the real impact of NAFTA on food security in Mexico. Such impacts are directly related to the results of the neoliberal economic model that trade agreements help entrench. However, the "official" analysis tries to paint a rosy picture of the outcome of NAFTA – an analysis that is wrong, inadequate, and intellectually dishonest.
- It is crucial to examine the problems created by the market-oriented model of development in Latin America and in Canada and how citizens deal locally with the impacts and consequences. We reject the effort to compartmentalize the discussion around different "baskets" that obscure the interrelatedness of impacts deriving from an hegemonic economic model. We need to create a new model that is not exclusionary of people and depredatory of the environment.

Participation of Civil Society

- The process of integration in the Americas is a one-sided process with an open door for

business and a closed door which denies meaningful access for the rest of civil society. Civil society's role is relegated to each respective country, limiting its influence on a hemispheric level.

- The group underscored the importance of participation of civil society in the Summit and FTAA processes, involving various forms of participation. This includes an approach that seeks formal representation in the negotiations, as well as another pursuing alternative civil society networks that participate in the process "from the outside."
- The group stressed the importance of articulating alternatives to challenge the notion that the neoliberal model is the only viable one. It is crucial to present alternative proposals to those issued at the Santiago Summit through an alternative summit of social organizations. Thus, as a main priority, Canadian civil society should work together with groups from other countries to expand hemispheric social alliances.
- While the government of Canada consults to some extent with its civil society, in other countries, governments tend to adopt the role of caretakers of the interests of their respective societies. Canada's recognition of labour and social forums might help to overcome civil society's isolation.
- Appropriate structures should be set up to permit civil society to inform policy decisions on an ongoing basis. Civil society organizations (and not just individuals) should be represented in these structures. Relevant issues should be integrated rather than compartmentalized (thus, focus consultations on general trade policy directions rather than on separate consultations on the trade aspects of APEC, FTAA, WTO, and so on).

Key Recommendations Related To This Consultation

- Public policy consultations like this one are genuinely welcomed. However, what is needed is civil society participation in decision-making. Thus, consultations should be interactive processes of exchange with elected officials and government officers (and not just a one way flow of information from the participants to the government, where the participants never know what happened – if anything – to their recommendations).
- Participation should be open to organizations of civil society – and not just to individuals.
- The civil society organizations that met at this workshop expect to hear back from DFAIT regarding the use, impact, and follow-up to the recommendations arising from our discussions.
- This group expects to be informed by the Canadian government about what it will do to encourage ongoing civil society participation in the process leading to, and the follow-up to, the Summit, as well as the forthcoming FTAA negotiations.
- The workshop participants expect the Government of Canada to provide resources and spaces for participation by civil society organizations in the same way that it provides those for business and corporate organizations.

Toward the Santiago Summit: A National Consultation Workshop for Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba Edmonton, Alberta, Friday, October 17, 1997.

Introduction:

The Edmonton Consultation convened at 9:15 on October 17, 1997, with approximately thirty-five delegates representing the private sector; the provincial governments of Alberta and Saskatchewan; a broad selection of NGOs, youth delegates with Latin American experience from universities and colleges, academics representing the Universities of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Regina, Alberta, Calgary, and Lethbridge; labour delegates representing the Alberta Federation of Labour and the Canadian Labour Congress; and approximately ten to fifteen student and faculty observers mostly from Alberta universities. Profesora Milena Gómez de Gaviria of the Universidad Externado de Bogota, a distinguished visitor at the University of Calgary, observed this distinctive Canadian process of formulating civil society recommendations to the federal government for the Santiago Summit. Although there were minor transportation difficulties due to distance and the limitations of airline connections from Winnipeg and Saskatoon, most delegates participated fully throughout the day which ended approximately at 16:30. The Minister of State for Latin America, the Caribbean, and Africa, Mr. David Kilgour, joined the meeting during the late afternoon as an observer. The NGO delegates stayed on in Edmonton for a consultation meeting with Mr. Kilgour on Saturday morning, October 18th.

The Edmonton Consultation workshop opened with brief comments by Project Coordinator Odette Langlais, Mr. Michael Brock of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, and Ms. Margaret Ford, Regional Director, Central American Division, Americas Branch of CIDA. The chair, Dr.

Richard Young of the University Alberta, outlined the agenda for the day, discussed procedures for handling the business at hand, and requested participants to introduce themselves with reference to their special areas of interest. Each delegate received a package of materials at the beginning of the meeting from DFAIT containing eleven documents that had not been received in time from Ottawa to circulate by mail or courier. Delegates did incorporate this material in their discussions during the day and several read the documents carefully following the consultation and submitted written reflections that are incorporated in this report. The discussions of four major agenda items followed the following form:

Topic #1: Preserving and Strengthening Democracy and Human Rights

Topic #2: Education

Lunch

Topic #3: The Eradication of Poverty

Topic #4: Hemispheric Economic Integration and Free Trade

Review and Wrap-Up including an overview of the workshop and evaluation of the consultation process

Topic #1: Preserving and Strengthening Democracy and Human Rights.

The discussions of the first topic commenced with detailed remarks by Drs. M. O. Dickerson and Stephen Randall, authors of the background paper, "Hemispheric Integration, Democratization and Human Rights in the Americas." Although John Hay, author of the second background paper, "Toward the Santiago Summit: A National Consultation," was not present, the early discussions included an overview of his study. Asking how economic integration, human rights, and democracy might be achieved, the two authors identified four interdependent factors or areas: liberalization, democratization,

development of civil society, and economic development. Liberalization in the present context refers to a limitation of the power of the state, a reduction of repression, and to the expansion of constitutionalism and civil liberties. Political liberalization then may be viewed as a way to reconfigure or to change Latin American societies to suppress authoritarianism, militarism, and violence by paramilitary forces or other groups. In this process, the old elites must accept new realities that other sectors are entitled to participation so that the views of government reflect the entire society and not one small segment. Democratization refers to institutional and structural changes, and cultural or attitudinal changes. The goal is to attain greater levels of participation in politics beyond the elites and to establish civilian control of the military. The development of civil society refers to the coming together of individuals into autonomous civil groups of all kinds to achieve greater control of their own destiny. Economic development which is often associated with economic growth must be examined to see if positive growth rates benefit the population in general or if disparities of wealth and poverty might provoke political discontent or even violence.

These four factors must be considered together as interdependent components in a process necessary to achieve stability, order, and the establishment of human rights. The goal is to create an environment conducive to establishing legitimacy or acceptance of the constitutional system, order, and stability. Randall and Dickerson argued that separation and emphasis upon only certain elements described within the four areas could lead to difficulties. Today for example, there is broad acceptance for the neo-liberal initiative to remove the state from many of its earlier functions and to dissolve traditional barriers to trade. Although certain population segments have benefited significantly from these changes, some studies suggest negative

consequences for labour, women, indigenous peoples, and for the unemployed or partially-employed.

The general discussion opened with the expression of a broad variety of views. Several speakers stressed that Latin Americans must be given latitude to seek their own solutions. Even in Canada, there are significant regional disparities and a diversity of economic and social realities. In Latin America, the migration of people from rural to urban centres has created numerous social, economic, and environmental problems. Although everyone is aware of the skewed distribution of wealth in many Latin American countries, no one is certain how to address disparities or how to propose acceptable reforms directed to making the elites pay their share. Indeed, some nations such as Mexico appear to have developed a pattern of growing disparities in wealth and economic realities that illustrate extreme divergences between the rich and poor. One speaker wondered if the neo-liberal model had weakened the role of the state substantially, could its traditional roles be replaced by the market place?

Randall and other speakers cautioned against ideas and generalizations that address the Latin American nations as some kind of monolithic entity rather than quite different complex individual cases. For example, Ecuador with a low per capita income should not be considered in the same category as Argentina that has a much higher per capita income. Sophisticated discussion of Latin American issues demands a high level of background understanding about regional and national diversities, history, and socioeconomic development. Moreover, quite different knowledge of regional relationships is required from one region and country to another. One speaker cautioned against the old error of attempting to promote or extend North American or Anglo-Saxon models. Anthropologists and historians spoke on the theme of

diversity and developed this even further to the micro-level of states, provinces, and regional districts and to indigenous populations that may be disconnected from main stream activities. Would such people desire economic liberalization? Would good policies for some be equally bad for others? Who might be threatened and what might be the costs of economic liberalization and of democratization? Adopting a broad historical approach to some of the major problems under discussion, Dr. Joel Prager commented upon a number of historical precedents and cited recent research that suggests some doubts as to whether or not democracy fosters or hinders economic development.

Other speakers of the NGO and labour sector expressed views critical of economic liberalization. In Nicaragua for example, the agenda to protect Human Rights had been affected by massive unemployment rates that reached 60% in the cities and up to 80% in some rural areas. In Nicaragua, the government had cut 70% of services in one year. Speaking for Labour, Mr. Ramón Antipan supported these views identifying economic integration as a major issue for Canadians. Although some Latin American nations are producing very positive figures indicating high levels of growth, it remains unclear who is reaping the profits and who inside or outside of government is responsible for major decisions. In the case of Chile for example, successful GDP statistics obscured internal disasters and growing inequalities.

Several speakers posed the question, "Which themes and issues under discussion are in Canada's national interest? Answering the question, members of the workshop stressed the point that Canada wants economic and political stability in the Americas and desires success for the Latin American nations. However, while Canadians wish to see economic growth and increase of wealth in Latin America, concerns remain about the potential for instability in financial markets and about events that might produce an upsurge of

refugee claimants. Randall noted that the concept of national security had changed to reflect rising levels of migration and pressures upon borders. Other speakers added that what Latin Americans do with their environment has been shown to exert a significant impact upon global conditions that have or will have a direct impact upon Canada. Another participant expressed the view that Canadian policy reflected very limited and narrow input about what best benefits Canadian national interest. At present, the only people who determine what will happen are those who belong to the business community. Prager responded to some of these views with a number of cautions rooted in history and economics. He argued that Canadians should consider the costs and the benefits of any policy involving national interest. For example, Canadians may wish to strengthen the middle classes in Latin America. If so, we may encounter problems with a country such as Mexico which like Canada sells commodities and raw materials. In such a case, we may find ourselves involved in head to head competition for the same markets.

Business delegates were quick to respond to a number of areas of implied criticism. In their view, foreign investment and democracy in Latin America move hand in hand since without democracy successful investment opportunities would meet only limited success. Canadian businesses interested in investing in a Latin American country wish to identify the rule of democratic institutions and independent judicial processes. Mr. Charles Stedman, Director of Strategic Intelligence for Nova Gas International presented a specific case study regarding the recent construction of the new natural gas pipeline between Argentina and Santiago, Chile, a city beset by high air pollution levels due primarily to the burning of carbon fuels. Although Nova faced legal injunctions filed by some large rural landowners who opposed the pipeline right of way, the company was careful to work through Chilean judicial processes

and to avoid any tendency to seek the intervention of senior government influence. the Chilean judiciary functioned very well to produce satisfactory settlements and accommodations. Not only were Chilean democratic institutions strengthened by the process, but the population of Santiago can look forward to the amelioration of a dangerous environmental hazard that threatened public health. In addition to the benefits for all parties illustrated by Nova's experience, Stedman stressed that economic liberalization and foreign investment in Latin America have opened many opportunities for competition and participation. Local elites that otherwise may have sought to preserve non-competitive and privileged systems now have to permit broader participation and in general to accept change. Delegates from the business sector stressed that Canadian business investors in Latin America are ardent supporters of democratic reform and the advancement of human rights.

This discussion provoked a number of interventions by Ms. Kathryn Olson of Earthkeeping and other delegates who wondered whether the fundamental objectives of business investors met the needs of civil society. It was argued that Consultation workshops such as this one need to formulate specific objectives and goals. Ana Maria Peredo, an Anthropologist and Ph.D. student in Management from the University of Calgary stated that one problem is that foreign policy and investment objectives are defined in the short term rather than the long term. Those concerned primarily with issues such as economic growth in Latin America should also consider factors such as the quality of life of local people. Dr. Jim Handy of the University of Saskatchewan, a well known specialist on Guatemala and Central America, identified five areas of concern in the process of strengthening democracy and human rights based upon his extensive field experience. These areas or contradictions are: 1] between strengthening the state and decentralizing

powers, the process of economic liberalization can be weakened; 2] while Latin American civil society is vibrant and dynamic, governments must be made to respond to popular initiatives; 3] the focus of democratic reforms is often upon the individual as in North America while the continuing perception of rights in places such as rural Guatemala is upon communal and corporate concerns; 4] despite involvement in political processes, popular questions seldom produce responses from the central government; and 5] proposals about democracy and human rights must take into consideration that despite the existence of a complex legal framework, the judicial system in some countries simply does not function.

This concluded the bulk of the morning of deliberations on Democracy and Human Rights. Certain issues such as that of Cuba, the ongoing crisis in Haiti, corruption in Mexico, and questions related to democracy in Peru emerged in discussions and during the coffee and lunch break, but time expired before they could be aired in the plenary session.

Recommendations Proposed for Strengthening Democracy and Human Rights:

1] The Declaration of Principles and Plan of Action from the Miami Summit are consistent with Canadian views of government and society and should continue to be supported.

2] Canada should recognize the complex diversity of Latin America by developing special expertise in a broad spectrum of fields.

3] Exchanges should be promoted and scholarships made available for Latin Americans to study in Canada and for Canadians to study in Latin America.

4] The Canadian government should increase funding to CIDA for expanded projects related to investment in democracy and the advancement of human rights in Latin America.

Topic #2: Education

Delegates reviewed quickly the documentation circulated at the beginning of the workshop on Education including the "Summit of the Americas: Process Review," the "Working Agenda," and the "Education Action Plan: Universal Access to Quality Basic Education." Ms. Margaret Ford of CIDA opened the discussion expressing considerable enthusiasm for the process which has been embraced and driven by Latin American governments. Vitally important issues such as universal access, quality of education, and education of indigenous and marginalized groups are on the table and being considered actively. Universal literacy and open access to good quality basic education are viewed as essential components to improvements in many different areas. By 2010, the goal is to have in place a guarantee of universal access to primary education available to 100% of the population and a secondary enrollment rate of 75%. Speakers agreed with the documentation provided that special attention should be given to the education of marginalized members of society, indigenous peoples, women, and girls.

Having expressed support for education that some speakers identified as little more than reiteration of "motherhood issues," the discussion turned to questions related to implementation. How will universal educational standards be guaranteed? Speaking about Brazil, Ms. Joelle Gray, an accountant and Graduate Student from the University of Calgary noted the lack of infrastructure, scarcity of resources, and need for enormous numbers of

schools and trained teachers. She argued that the 2010 date for the completion of universal primary education is overly optimistic and will be difficult to achieve. Dr. Ted Chambers of the Faculty of Management, University of Alberta, cut through the vague support statements about educational reforms proposing that Latin American countries declare specific levels of budgetary commitment to education. Mr. Manuel Galvan of Malaspina International, and Dr. Barbara Angel of the University of Manitoba representing the International Institute for Sustainable Development, expressed concerns that governments would not be able to ensure educational standards at the same time that they are dedicated to cutting programmes. Much more funding will be required to move education from elite-based to universal. Mr. Stedman of Nova stated that the business sector recognized that good education systems are absolutely essential for the development of societies. Other speakers pointed out that the enhancement of education would in the longer run advance democratization and human rights. Speaking in favour of the documents provided, Dr. Handy supported an approach that would decentralize education so that indigenous communities can develop programmes specific to their culture, language and special needs.

Commenting that no one in their right mind opposes the principle of universal education, Mr. Antipan of the Alberta Federation of Labour supported the concepts expressed in the documentation, but he expressed some cynicism about how general theory could be brought to reality in specific situations. He cited the example of the Maquiladora Zone in Mexico where large numbers of young workers are functionally illiterate. While in theory the Mexican government promotes education, neither it nor the foreign companies that employ these workers have been able to solve the literacy problem satisfactorily.

Recommendations Proposed to Advance the Development of Education in Latin America:

1] Canadian governments and universities supported by the public and private sector should expand and develop programs and scholarships to assist Latin Americans with university education, trades, and technical training.

2] Canada should make available its technical and curriculum knowledge to expand internet, satellite systems, and television training programmes in the field of distance education. Special attention should be given to the education of girls and women, the indigenous sector, and the poor.

3] Canada should urge Latin American governments to follow-up their commitments to educational reform by announcing specific budget levels devoted to this area.

4] Canada should maintain its strong advocacy roles and commitment through enhancing CIDA programs and other support to advance Latin American education at all levels.

6] Existing CIDA structures could be employed to promote micro-industry or enterprise development. By inserting a person into existing CIDA projects, they could work with communities to strengthen existing companies working in the same industry. If the industry in question is the oil industry of Bolivia for example, local people could be encouraged to represent foreign suppliers of products, establish repair facilities, and manufacture required products using a blend of local and imported primary materials. CIDA could provide connections to both Canadian suppliers and local end users, provide connections to Canadian suppliers and local end users, direct training, and work with local banking

institutions to provide small amounts for financing. This same approach could be used for other industries.

Topic #3: The Eradication of Poverty.

The discussion on this topic noted the package of documentation on the subject that had been circulated at the beginning of the workshop. Speakers referred to the Pan American Health Organization's plan that stressed initiatives for vaccines, immunization programs, and water and sanitation programmes. Margaret Ford of CIDA noted that Canada could contribute to finding solutions to hunger and malnutrition through creating different models that would permit Latin American countries to address social, economic, and cultural problems. Speakers from the NGO sector suggested that projects concerning aboriginal forestry and mining had special merit. However, with regard to the difficulties of indigenous populations, several speakers noted that Canada's own record in alleviating poverty left room for considerable improvement. Ms. Olson from Earthkeeping expressed the concerns of her organization for food security connected with access to land, funding for food and agrarian reform programs, and land ownership. Other speakers presented harsh statistics illustrating that 210 million people in Latin American and the Caribbean live in poverty. Even in Chile that has been recognized as a great success story in terms of economic development, 3.3 million of a total population of 14 million live below the poverty line. Given this situation, neo-liberal economic policies do not appear to have produced an effective panacea. Some speakers suggested that these policies could serve to increase rather than decrease grinding poverty throughout Latin America.

In response to a student speaker, Mr. Steven Navratil, who proposed a massive aid programme to produce rapid change, Dr. Prager responded that in the past aid funds from international organizations had served to perpetuate the status quo and retarded efforts to seeks solutions from within the recipient countries. Asked about whether CIDA has macro-economic programmes in Latin America, Ms. Ford noted support initiatives to provide tools, techniques, and materials. Concerning the draft document from Nicaragua, "Eradication of Poverty and Discrimination (Women)," Ricardo Acuña of Change for Children identified contradictions pointing out that the actual policies of the Nicaraguan government are driving more and more women into poverty every day. He argued that the most effective development aid is NGO-sponsored and directed community to community. Despite earnest words, even the Canadian government has continued to reduce aid funding directed to help eradicate poverty. Ms. Ford responded that CIDA has developed cooperative programmes, partnerships, models, and new ideas. She gave the example of CIDA work in Honduras where a model programme has been set up to produce low cost potable water that in a few years will be available for general use by other countries. Political Scientist Dr. Kalowatie Deonandan of the University of Saskatchewan wondered whether in the area of poverty eradication if CIDA's contracts and development projects represented the best system of delivery. This led to a discussion about whether Canadian initiatives sometimes work at counter-purpose. Some speakers answered in the affirmative with examples of business initiatives that appeared to threaten the livelihood of indigenous peoples who had been protected by other Canadian programmes.

Given the expanding gap between rich and poor in Latin America, some speakers expressed frustration and outright cynicism about the commitments of governments to eradicate poverty. Mr. Antipan argued that each Latin

American nation needs to work out its own development model. Workers' rights need to be recognized with the goal of raising basic standards of living. Dr. Brown referred to her own observations of economic shifts during the recent peso crisis in Mexico and noted that unequal distribution of wealth is a problem that each Latin American nation needs to address. Business sector speakers noted that economic growth must be stimulated to reduce poverty and that graduated taxes could address the problem of inequality of wealth.

Recommendations Presented toward the Eradication of Poverty and Discrimination:

1] Canada should continue to support the ideas and concepts within the Miami Declaration of Principles.

2] Increased support should be given to Canadian programmes that advance the living standards, education, economic endeavours, and political participation of indigenous communities throughout the Americas. Canadian NGOs should be supported in their work concerning these areas.

3] Canada should develop programmes to advance women's education and health in Latin America. Canadian NGOs should be supported for their work in these areas.

4] Through CIDA programmes, Canada should continue to assist with projects to provide potable water and basic sanitation services.

Topic #4: Economic Integration and Free Trade:

Dr. Randall introduced theme arguing that contrary to the views of some observers, in the 1980s the United States decided to promote economic

integration and free trade to counter opposing world regional trading blocks--principally the European Economic Community, Asia, and Japan. The notion that Canada and Mexico were the prime proponents of bilateral trade is incorrect. Problems of labour dislocation, protection of culture, access to resources such as water were issues at the time that the original negotiations toward the NAFTA agreement took shape. However, the best assessment is that there was a similar coincidence of interest in free trade and economic integration in both Canada and Mexico. Subsequently, the U.S. Congress began to exhibit almost schizophrenic behavior which has resulted in a return to more protectionist positions. The Fast Track Authority requested by the Clinton administration to extend NAFTA has not been granted and the pace of economic integration has slowed. Some of the goals sought at the Miami Summit for the year 2005 now appear unrealistic. Nevertheless, the existing free trade agreement remains controversial in some sectors and the ramifications for labour, manufacturing, and investment patterns are still unclear. Randall agreed with a statement made by Joel Prager during the present workshop that we need to know more about cause and effect concerning economic integration. Despite growth in trade, Canada's exports to Latin America remain insignificant compared to some other markets. Randall concluded his introduction with questions for the workshop. Are Canadian interests served by Hemispheric economic integration? Would Canada be better advised to consolidate its trade relationships with industrialized nations? Is Latin America a priority for Canada and should it be?

As might be expected, members of the Edmonton Consultation expressed a variety of opinions reflecting the positions of business, labour, NGOs, and academics of different disciplines. William Jaschke, a senior business consultant recently returned from contract work for Norcen in Venezuela

pointed out the enormous potential consumer population of Latin America and argued that the potential for growth in Canadian trade south of Mexico is outstanding. Mr. Stedman of Nova Gas International viewed free trade and economic integration as key elements in solidifying peace, controlling the military, and in preventing the possibility of future conflicts. He pointed out a number of Latin American and world examples of how economic integration produced a decline of international tensions. The growth of Mercosur with Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay participating illustrates this point since all of these nations traditionally have guarded their prerogatives and rights.

On the other side, speakers representing labour such as Mr. Dave Morris of the Canadian Labour Congress and some NGO representatives expressed concerns about the flight of jobs from Canada to Mexico, the increase of part-time work without benefits, and environmental degradation caused by insufficiently regulated mining and manufacturing. While Morris pointed out that labour was not opposed to international trade, in his view the record of NAFTA illustrated significant damage to Canadian workers. He expressed a degree of cynicism about conferences like this one that talked a great deal but usually achieved very little. To protect labour, a Charter of Labour and Workers' Rights is needed for the Americas. Mr. Antipan reminded the workshop of the wonderful statements diffused by international observers about Chilean and Mexican economic reforms. Despite a record GDP and burgeoning foreign investments, Chile suffers more than ever from skewed income distribution. Mexico, a large consumer of corn is no longer self-sufficient in this vital staple food product and the historic ejidos (cooperatives) either have been either damaged or are being sold off. Other speakers argued that Canada needs a different agenda in which private sector business interests

would be balanced to include other views to produce a multisectoral approach. John Foster of the University of Saskatchewan sounded a note of caution about economic integration, agreeing with other previous speakers that a thorough evaluation of NAFTA and its impact is required to see exactly who are the beneficiaries. Too little attention has been given to the roles of civil society, the building of accountability, transparency of processes, and environmental sustainability. He noted that the two background papers for the five national workshops had little to say about Canadian aid policies. If the impact of NAFTA upon Canada remained unclear, the negative results in Mexico were disturbing. The Partido Institucional Revolucionario (PRI) is melting down; Mexico is a haven for the international drug trade and hot money; and corruption, inefficiency, and lack of national integration remain serious problems.

In conclusion, the Edmonton Consultation reflected a broad variety of opinions about Economic Integration and Free Trade. Delegates mentioned the creation of the proposed Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), but the slowdown in the pace of hemispheric integration seemed to remove the immediate relevance of this topic. References to the Organization of American States (OAS) when they did occur seemed to underscore a general view that the organization continues to lack meaningful importance and roles in the major issues of the day.

Recommendations Presented on Economic Integration and Free Trade:

1] The Canadian government should commission evaluative studies on the impact, benefits, and detriments of NAFTA that will assist planning for future initiatives toward economic integration.

2] In order to balance and to make the Canadian delegation to Santiago more representative, delegates from the NGO and Labour sectors should

be appointed and assigned to areas such as environment and human rights.

3] Concerning economic integration, Canada should make an effective case for strong regulatory procedures.

4] In order to combat charges that some processes take place in secrecy, the Canadian government should establish a code or charter of ethics for businesses investing in Latin America.

5] Canada should support initiatives directed to protect the production of food, and watch over land tenure issues, agrarian reform, ways to ease debt repayments, sustainability of the land, and security for agrarian peoples of the Americas.

List of Invited Participants
Toward the Santiago Summit: Edmonton Consultation
October 17, 1997.

Ricardo Acuña	Change for Children Assn. Edmonton, AB
Barbara Angel	University of Manitoba, International Institute for SustainableDevelopment Winnipeg, MN
Ramón Antipan	Alberta Federation of Labour Edmonton, AB
Christon I. Archer	Director, FOCAL-West University of Calgary Calgary, AB
Michael Brock	Director, Mexico-Inter-American Div DFAIT Ottawa, ON
Denise Brown	SSHRS Fellow, Mexican Studies University of Calgary Calgary, CA
Ted Chambers	Faculty of Business University of ASlberta Edmonton, AB
Kalowatie Deonandan	Department of Poltical Science University of Saskatchewan Saskatoon, SK
Mark O. Dickerson	Department of Political Science University of Calgary Calgary, AB
Margaret Ford	Regional Director Central American Division Americas Branch, CIDA Ottawa, ON
John Foster	College of Law University of Saskatchewan Saskatoon, SK
Manuel Galan	Managing Director

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Joelle Gray	Graduate Student Brazilian Studies University of Calgary Calgary, AB
Jim Handy	Department of History University of Saskatchewan Saskatoon, SK
Sharon Jamieson	Executive Assistant to the President University of Alberta Edmonton, AB
William Jaschke	Consultant: Venezuela Norcen Energy Calgary, AB
Fred Judson	Department of Political Sceince University of Alberta Edmonton, AB
David Kilgour	Member of Parliament Secretary of State for Latin America, the Caribbean and Africa
Odette Langlais	Project Officer FOCAL-Ottawa Ottawa, ON
Rodrigo Loyola	Student Delegate University of Alberta Edmonton, AB
Bill Moore-Kilgannon	Centre for International Alternatives Edmonton, AB
Dave Morris	Canadian Labour Congress Edmonton, AB
Steven Navratil	Youth Representative Calgary, AB
Kathryn Olson	Earthkeeping Edmonton, AB

Ana María Peredo	Office Manager FOCAL-West Calgary, AB
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Joel Prager	Director of Planning Department of Finance Government of Saskatchewan Regina, SK
Stephen Randall	Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences University of Calgary Calgary, AB
Justin Reimer	Department of Intergovernmental Affairs Edmonton, AB
Norman Riddell	Alberta Inernational Edmonton, AB
Bob Schmidt	Regional Animator Canadian Catholic Organization for Development and Peace Edmonton, AB
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Richard Young	Chair of the Consultation

Department of Modern Languages
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Julieta Zeleda

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TOWARD THE SANTIAGO SUMMIT:

Vancouver Consultation

(October 21, 1997)

No consensus emerged from the consultation that took place in Vancouver on October 21, 1997, as to either, on the one hand, the viability of neoliberalism as a model of economic development or as an economic system compatible with achieving democracy and protecting human rights or, on the other, as to the measures that might be taken to ensure that human rights, poverty, and education, among other issues, receive equal or greater treatment than economic integration at the Santiago Summit. Therefore, rather than arguing for a specific point of view, this paper attempts to represent the diversity of opinion expressed at the consultation as well as to present the sum total of recommendations that were made, regardless of whether they were agreed upon by a single delegate, a handful of people, or the entire group (although, when possible, an attempt will be made to assess the degree of support each recommendation received). The aim of the author of this report, then, is to represent as accurately as possible the viewpoints expressed.

To begin with, participants were divided as to whether including the eradication of poverty, education, and preserving and strengthening democracy and human rights as part of a discussion of

neoliberalism should be their ultimate objective or if neoliberalism itself should be rejected as incompatible with achieving these goals. As one participant expressed it, labor rights, human rights, and women's rights are not addenda to economic integration but should be the central issues. Another participant, remarking on the four themes to be discussed at the summit as set out on the first page of the discussion paper prepared by John Hay, stressed that the first three issues--poverty, education and human rights--were much more important than the fourth, that is, regional economic integration and free trade. Yet another doubted the inevitability of neoliberalism and proposed, in its place, sustainable development, which they described as a consultative approach to planning for the future. Some participants pointed to the particularly devastating affect of free trade on women around the world.

A diversity of opinion was also found within the group of participants concerned to include social issues as part of the agenda in Santiago, ranging from grudging acceptance of the current dominance of the neoliberal agenda to commitment to free trade as a positive good in its own right. One participant was very optimistic about the possibilities of the summit itself, seeing it as an example of a new, more organic, paradigm at work, a paradigm in which relationships in the world were based on inter-dependence and mutual vulnerability and where social and political issues were not separated from economic ones. This participant pointed to the involvement and participation of people from Latin America at all levels in this summit and the increased level of awareness and dialogue characterizing this summit as compared to the previous one.

Another worried that what was being proposed was "cheap integration" involving only the few. This participant pointed out that there were alternative forces, like Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas in Mexico, who has proposed not a free trade agreement but a free development agreement that would include international standards on human rights, including rights for labor, women, children, and indigenous peoples.

As the background and discussion papers, distributed before the meeting, formed the basis for discussion, there was a concern that they, essentially, represented the same point of view and that it might have been better, for the purposes of promoting discussion, to have commissioned papers that represented divergent perspectives on the issues at hand. The assumptions of the Randall paper, especially, met with extensive criticism. While it was acknowledged that the paper had been heavily edited, a number of participants rejected the assumption found in the paper that economic development and the integrationist agenda necessarily went together with the emergence of democratic political regimes. Some wondered aloud whether the opposite was, in fact, the case--that the neoliberal agenda might be antagonistic to democracy and greater participation by the majority. Nor did some accept Randall's assumption that "liberalization," or, limiting the power of the state, would lead to "greater freedom" and fewer human rights' violations. Instead, participants pointed out that the situation of human rights was deteriorating and hunger increasing in some parts of Latin America because of the economic consequences of the adoption of the neoliberal model. Dr. William Black also provided a particularly

telling example of how we must be careful not to equate democracy with human rights in the field of health. That democracy has a "down" side is evident in that, if a person contracts tuberculosis, they have a much better chance of survival if they are in Central America than if they are in Harlem or many inner-cities in the United States. Others rejected the "us/them" dichotomy that casts people in Latin American as "others" living in "infantile democracies" who are acted upon, rather than as actors in their own right and that exempts "us," that is, people in Canada, from scrutinizing ourselves and from seeking ways to strengthen democracy and human rights not just in Latin America, but throughout the Americas, including Canada.

Many participants were also concerned that, despite the emphasis on democracy in the background documents, secrecy and a lack of democracy seemed instead to characterize the consultation process itself in Canada. Some feared that meetings like the present one were more coeptation than consultation, designed to foster consensus and give the appearance that people had some input into the process when they really did not. Participants wondered about getting results out of a process that seems fundamentally skewed before consultation takes place. This concern underlines that fact that, for most of those attending the consultation, from all the sectors represented, the participation of people at all levels of the decision-making process was a priority. Some wondered, for example, if First Nation peoples had even been consulted on the sections in package of materials provided by FOCAL dealing with indigenous proposals. In addition to the fear that this was an elitist process involving little public debate, another concern was that Free Trade Agreements

seemed inherently about limiting sovereignty and democracy, especially at the provincial level. Such agreements put into question the power of the government over such issues as land claims and the environment and move decision making out of the hands of elected officials and into the hands of appointed administrators serving on trade panels and various committees designed to arbitrate trade disputes. One participant described the particularly "chilling" effect this transfer of power is having and will have on governments' willingness to put forward social legislation. Others conceded that, while integration necessarily implied some diminishment of sovereignty, this was not necessarily entirely negative.

Given this concern with secrecy and lack of input and the emphasis of many of those participating in the meeting as to the need for transparency, accountability, popular participation and legitimacy, both in the consultation process within Canada and in the workings of the summit itself, one recommendation that some favoured placing first was that:

1. Cuba be included in all discussions like the summit and be invited to participate in the Santiago Summit.

Two related recommendations that also followed from the importance placed on openness and increased participation in the process were that:

2. NGOs and civil society be included in the official delegation that Canada sends to the Santiago Summit; and that

3. the provincial governments in Canada participate in the Santiago Summit.

While the first three recommendations concern the consultation process itself, subsequent recommendations address the goals that participants would like to accomplish through Canada's participation in the summit. Particularly striking was the call by many of the participants for the need for Canada to project a bold vision of what it wanted to accomplish rather than for Canadian representatives to wait and see what others might do or say. It is with this need in mind that participants offered the following recommendations.

Two major areas of agreement among participants at the consultation were the need to support the establishment or strengthening of civil society from the ground up and the need to address the problem of inequity throughout the Americas. Specific recommendations that were made to strengthen civil society were that:

4. programs be designed to strengthen specific civic groups concerned with human rights, including those of workers, women, children, and indigenous peoples; and that

5. certain agencies of government, including labor inspectors, environmental departments, and tax regimes, among others, be strengthened institutionally in order to accomplish this; and that

6. measures be taken to help ensure freedom of the press, another institution of civil society; and that

7. measures be taken to help promote the free operation of labour unions; and that

8. Canada act as a leader in supporting public education systems in the Americas (including Canada) as a way of educating about human and social rights; and that

9. foreign aid become an integral part of achieving these goals, where the Canadian government determines what its real priorities in the region are and then focuses aid in line with these priorities. Recommendations proposed to address the issue of inequity and the redistribution of resources were that:

10. a tri- or multi-national equitable growth board be established as part of any free trade agreement; and that

11. binding stipulations be included in any free trade agreement mandating as a basis for continuing participation in the agreement a certain distribution of wealth, the reaching of an agreed-upon literacy rate, and/or the reduction of the infant mortality rate to an agreed-upon level; and that

12 provisions be included in free trade agreement for "fair" wages and balanced economic development; and that

13. codes of conduct be included in any free trade agreement, establishing labour standards and regulating the contracting out of work, among other things; and that

14. measures to strengthen domestic regulation and review, particularly of short-term investments, be included in any free trade agreement, as a means of avoiding crises; and that

15. measures to moderate the causes of crises be considered, which may include measures affecting banking, tax systems, and the regulation of profits, among others.

A specific and much-discussed topic within the broad discussion of inequity was that of the rights of labour under any free trade agreement. Some participants argued that "labour flexibility" (a euphemism for lower wages and less power for worker

organizations), was not an incidental by-product of free trade agreements but a major goal of such proceedings; they pointed to the weakening of workers and their organizations in Chile and Mexico, among other countries, in support of this argument. On the issue of labor, many of those participating, including representatives of business, recommended that:

16. core labour standards be included as part of any free trade agreement and that Canada take the lead in advocating core labour standards.

Other recommendations regarding labour on which the same consensus was not achieved were that:

17. a tri- or multi-national commission on North American or American labour rights be formed; and that

18. there should be no free trade agreement if it is to be similar to existing agreements but, rather, that the focus should be on justice and sustainable development instead; and that

19. there should be no free trade agreement unless it includes a social agenda, respecting and protecting the rights of workers, women, campesinos, indigenous peoples and migrant workers and a democratic means of ratifying such an agreement in each country; and that

20. there should be no free trade agreement unless ILO conventions that guarantee freedom of association, collective bargaining, prohibition of child labour and forced labour are followed and unless discrimination based on sex, race or religion is not allowed and that such conventions form part of a Charter of Social

and Economic Rights for Citizens of the Americas that is included as part of the agreement; and that

21. there should be no free trade agreement unless it includes means to protect the environment and unless it places special attention on the need for food security; and that

22. there should be no free trade agreement unless it protects people from the vulnerability and instability caused by speculative capital (see recommendations 13 and 14 above also); and that

23. there be total freedom of mobility of labour; and that

24. the distinction between the rights of temporary and permanent residents be eliminated and, in its place, a situation of equality be created in which all have the right to move and enter the country with the same rights as Canadians.

The discussion of the position of labour within a free trade agreement also prompted some participants to view the Santiago Summit as an opportunity either to correct some of the problems they saw with NAFTA or to ask that the effects of NAFTA be evaluated very carefully and fully before commitments are made to a new free trade agreement. In this regard, it was recommended that:

25. the effects of NAFTA be fully evaluated before proceeding with any new free trade agreement, perhaps by means of a "continental road show" in which representatives from Canada, Mexico and the United States openly debate the impact of NAFTA in public fora across the Americas; and that

26. investor-state dispute mechanisms, staffed by appointed trade officials, should not be empowered to make decisions affecting

areas like health care and the environment or deal with questions of expropriation; and that

27. nations should remain able to pursue their environmental concerns and social goals like health care without being constrained by mechanisms within a free trade agreement; and that

28. the countervailing subsidy issue be rectified; and that

29. the ability to derogate be included in any free trade agreement, thus enabling elected, rather than appointed, officials to deal with social issues, expropriation, and the environment.

Many participants also expressed their frustration either with Canada's failure to live up to existing agreements or with the lack of mechanisms within agreements to enforce social concerns. To address this issue, participants recommended that:

30. before participating in new agreements, Canadians determine how effectively Canada is invested in or integrated into existing agreements, particularly the American Convention on Human Rights and the Inter-American Commission and Court on Human Rights; and that

31. Canada become a signatory to the Convention on Human Rights; and that

32. rather than sign new agreements, Canada should implement existing commitments to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; and that

33. any new agreement should "reference" adherence to international standards, such as core labour standards and the International Declaration on Human Rights, as, for example, in the so-

called "democratic clause" of the European Economic Community (EEC) trade agreement; and that

34. new international agreements include "teeth" so that articles dealing with human rights and social issues can be enforced; and that

35. a national referendum be held on any new free trade agreement, thus facilitating open debate, enhancing the democratic process, and serving as a means of educating Canadians about any new accord.

Finally, a number of recommendations that do not fit into the above categories were also made by participants during the course of the day, including that

36. Canada pursue global harmonization of environmental standards; and that

37. Canada support attempts to demilitarize the drug trade; and that

38. intellectual property rights not be privatized; and that

39. Canadians, as consumers, be educated as to the impact of their buying habits; and that

40. human security be made a priority.

It is hoped that these forty recommendations accurately reflect the positions held by those participating in the Vancouver consultation. The author welcomes comments and criticisms.